

# TIME

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What I Learned from the Last Days of My Mom and Dad

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By Joe Klein

STORY OF THE WEEK

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Amber Jones of Mount Vernon, Ga., poses before the Montgomery County High School prom on May 6. Photograph by Gillian Laub for TIME

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# Inbox

TIME.com's special report on gaming begins June 5 with coverage of E3, the industry's biggest event. Find it at [techland.time.com](http://techland.time.com)



## MAIL



### The Campaigner

Your cover story emphasized to me the important, defining difference between President Obama and Mitt Romney ["Dreams from His Mother,"

June 4]. Whereas Obama comes from humble beginnings, raised by a single mother of modest means, and had to struggle to reach the height of the presidency, Romney has been a privileged son in a line of well-heeled politicians. Who can better speak to the needs of average Americans?

*Carolyn McIntosh, LITTLETON, COLO.*

Although I shall remain an Obama person all the way to the voting booth, it did my heart good to see Romney on the cover of *TIME* in an intimate moment with his mother. I hope she taught him what women expect and deserve in this country.

*Kathleen Lidgus, GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.*

Despite being a Democrat, I can't work up to disliking Romney as a person. Yet even my GOP friends can't warm to him, and your article explains it best: there's a difference between real, principled leadership and careful managerial skill. But, damn, I wish his mom were in the Senate today—regardless of which side of the aisle she'd be on.

*Jane Mitakides, DAYTON, OHIO*

TIME's interview with Romney was undoubtedly intended to elicit his ideas, plans and intentions if he is elected President ["On the Record," June 4]. Instead, his responses sounded as if he had been asked only one question,

What's bad about Barack Obama? Readers got no help at all in understanding his positions.

*Robert L. Wolke, Professor Emeritus of Chemistry, University of Pittsburgh*

### Saving Snail Mail

Re "Reinventing the Post Office" [June 4]: One idea to help preserve the USPS is to let it set its own price for postage. If it's a dollar per first-class stamp, so be it. No other firm will deliver an envelope anywhere in the U.S. for that price.

*David Stapel, GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.*



### THE CONVERSATION

**'I don't find him to be cynical.'**

That's what New York *Daily News* columnist S.E. Cupp said of Mitt Romney's tenacity, as described in *TIME*'s June 4 cover story, "**Dreams from His Mother**," by **Barton Gellman**. "If he were really that burned by watching his parents lose those elections, I wouldn't think he would be this optimistic and enthusiastic," she said on MSNBC's *Now with Alex Wagner*.

### WRITE TO US

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Reference: 1. In a survey of 203 optometrists in the US; Alcon data on file, 2011.

**Alcon**

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# Briefing

'They should ... help themselves collectively. By all paying their tax.'

**1. CHRISTINE LAGARDE**, head of the IMF, accusing Greece of enabling tax dodgers; she later apologized via Facebook, saying she was "very sympathetic to the Greek people and the challenges they are facing"

'Show me a guy who won't compromise and I'll show you a guy with rock for brains.'

**2. ALAN SIMPSON**, co-chairman of the U.S. National Commission on Fiscal Responsibility and Reform, arguing that Congress must find common ground to avoid another debt-default calamity

'With any of these big media groups, you fall out with them, you watch out.'

**3. TONY BLAIR**, former British Prime Minister, telling a parliamentary inquiry that British leaders have no choice but to court powerful media moguls like Rupert Murdoch

'At this point it looks like entire families were shot in their houses.'

**4. RUPERT COLVILLE**, spokesman for the U.N. Human Rights Commissioner, on a massacre in the Syrian village of Houla—believed to be the work of forces allied with President Bashar Assad's regime

'For a long time I've been the expert in violence. This film is about love.'

**5. MICHAEL HANEKE**, whose movie *Amour*—about an elderly couple coming to terms with mortality—won the top prize at the Cannes Film Festival

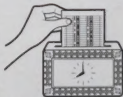


**\$4.7 BILLION**

Amount Americans will spend on graduation gifts this season

**1 in 3**

Proportion of U.S. cars sold that are SUVs—the highest since the 1990s; smaller models with better fuel economy are credited for the uptick



**\$44,000**

Estimated hourly pay of Simon Property Group's David Simon, the highest-paid CEO of a public company; he made \$137 million last year

**30%**

Estimated percentage of U.S. college students with loans who dropped out—up from less than one-quarter a decade ago

Briefing

# LightBox

## Martyr

*An image captured on a cell phone shows the body of a Syrian woman—one of some 90 people, including dozens of children, allegedly slain by government forces in the town of Houla*

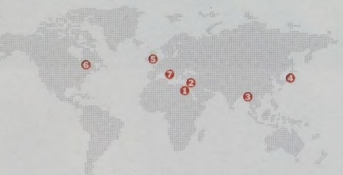
Photograph by Houla News Network/Reuters  
[lightbox.time.com](http://lightbox.time.com)







# World



Election flyers lie scattered after protesters sacked Shafik's headquarters

## The Center Did Not Hold

**1 | EGYPT** Before the vote, enthusiasm ran high for Egypt's presidential elections, the first round of which was held May 23. But the results were not what most people expected. Indeed, for Egypt's liberals and leftists, who drove the popular uprising last year that ended decades of authoritarian rule, they yielded a nightmare scenario. In a race that drew 13 candidates, including a number of moderates, neither of the two initial front runners qualified for the second-round runoff to be held June 16 and 17. The men who did qualify were the two most polarizing candidates on the ballot: the Muslim Brotherhood's Mohamed Morsy and Ahmed Shafik, who was a Prime Minister under ousted President Hosni Mubarak. A Morsy victory in the next round would further cement the Brotherhood's political dominance and endanger many secular reforms, while Shafik is a vestige of the old regime that countless Egyptians struggled and died to throw out. In an irony of democracy, analysts suggest that the sheer number of moderate candidates spread the moderate and liberal votes so thinly that it undermined the chances for all of them. Shafik and Morsy, on the other hand, could count on pre-existing constituencies to back their bids. Now some voters say they're so dismayed, they won't bother to vote in the next round. Others simply disagree on which option is worse. —ABIGAIL HAUSLOHNER/CAIRO

## One Massacre Too Many?

**2 | SYRIA** In one of the deadliest massacres since the Syrian uprising began, at least 108 people were killed, nearly half of them children, in the town of Houla in western Syria on May 25. The U.N.'s initial findings indicate that a majority of the victims were stabbed or shot in their homes, and witnesses implicate progovernment militiamen. Resorting to his standard refrain, Syrian President Bashar Assad denied responsibility for the attacks, even as the Security Council condemned his government's role in the bloodshed. Ratcheting up the international pressure, 11 nations expelled Syrian diplomats. One question now is whether Damascus will continue to enjoy the support of Russia, which has consistently and sometimes successfully attempted to block Western-backed sanctions in the past. In a last-ditch effort to salvage his peace plan, special envoy Kofi Annan urged the Syrian leader to take "bold steps" to resolve the crisis peacefully, warning that it had reached a "tipping point."

## GERMANY

**'At night, the rats come out.'**

**GÜNTHER LÖSCHNER**, official rat catcher of the German town of Hamelin, on a resurgent rodent infestation in one of the town's main fountains. According to the Brothers Grimm tale, the Pied Piper rescued Hamelin from the plague in 1284 by leading its rats to a watery death in a nearby river.



## The Nuclear Passage

**4 | JAPAN** U.S. scientists discovered at least 15 radioactive bluefin tuna swimming off the California coast. They were contaminated 6,000 miles away in waters polluted by Japan's Fukushima nuclear facility, which was crippled in the March 2011 earthquake and tsunami. Here's a timeline of disaster debris that's turned up on North American shores:

## The Lady Takes Flight

**3 | BURMA** For the first time in 24 years, veteran pro-democracy leader and Nobel laureate Aung San Suu Kyi was able to leave her country. Suu Kyi, now an elected member of the fledgling Burmese parliament, landed in Bangkok for a World Economic Forum summit before heading to Europe. For nearly two decades, Burma's Iron-fisted military junta kept her under house arrest. Her sojourn abroad is yet another litmus test of the reforms now reshaping Burma.

April 2011  
Movie prop for *The Bourne Ultimatum*.  
It looked like a sea-creature shell





## The Queen's Scene

**5 | U.K.** From June 2 to June 5, millions of Brits and Anglophiles will celebrate the 60th anniversary of Queen Elizabeth II's coronation. The second British monarch to mark a Diamond Jubilee—Victoria was the first, in 1897—the Queen will attend a string of events in her honor, including a thanksgiving service at St. Paul's Cathedral. Like last year's royal wedding, the commemoration is expected to inject billions of dollars into the economy via tourism.



Protesters and students gather on the streets of Montreal, a city paralyzed by over three months of demonstrations

## Students Strike Back

**6 | CANADA** Mass protests in Montreal—which began in February after Quebec's provincial government announced university tuition hikes—have brought hundreds of thousands into the streets. As student representatives wrangle for a government deal to break the impasse, demonstrations have snowballed into a larger movement against Bill 78, a two-week-old emergency law that, critics allege, curbs protest action. Clashes between demonstrators and police have turned increasingly violent, leading to hundreds of arrests.

## Vatican's Leaks

**7 | ITALY** A new book drawing on documents leaked from within the Vatican reveals power struggles and accusations of corruption quietly rolling the Holy See during Benedict XVI's reign. At least two Vatican staff are suspected of aiding the book's author.

## ETTORE GOTTI TEDESCHI

The former Vatican bank director, who led a recent push to bring the bank in line with E.U. financial transparency rules, was ousted by the bank's board just days after the book's publication. Documents allegedly in his possession wound up published.

## PAOLO "PAOLETTO" GABRIELE

Vatican gendarmes arrested the Pope's personal butler on May 23 after secret papal documents were discovered inside his Vatican City apartment. He could face trial in a closed Vatican court and a 10-year sentence for aggravated theft.

PERU  
**80**

Estimated number of mummies recently found in a burial chamber at an ancient pre-Columbian complex of ruins along the Pacific Coast. The site is over a millennium old and is thought to have been a center for healing in its time.

September 2011

December 2011

Late-March 2012

April 2012

April 2012

April 2012

Later May 2012



# Profile

## Alexis Tsipras

**THE OLD STANDARD**  
A return to the drachma could see Greeks losing up to two-thirds of the value of their savings and assets



### The Tormentor of Europe. In Greece, a once obscure politician may hold the fate of the euro in his grip

By Joanna Kakissis/Athens

A FRAMED PHOTOGRAPH of Che Guevara exhaling a cloud of cigar smoke hangs on a wall in the modest office of Alexis Tsipras in central Athens. It's an easy symbol for those in Europe

who see the leftist Greek politician as a dangerous ideologue threatening to drag his country out of the euro and bring drachmageddon not only to Greece but to the rest of the European Union. The demonization bemuses Tsipras, 37, a calm civil engineer who says he's merely a realist. "Greece has been a European and international experiment, and the Greek people have been the guinea pigs," Tsipras tells TIME. "In the last two years we have suffered a social catastrophe. One out of two young Greeks are not only unemployed; they cannot even dream or hope for a better future. The country doesn't export olive oil, oranges, cheese and olives anymore. It exports young scientists. It's a bleeding that has to stop."

Tsipras was an obscure opposition politician just weeks ago, but now he's unnerving the powers that be in the E.U. That is because he and his Syriza party may win enough seats in Parliament on June 17 to form a government—alone or in coalition. The first round of voting, on May 6, led to a stalemate, with no party, not even the two mainstream ones, able to form a ruling coalition. But the surprise was Syriza, which came in with the second greatest number of seats, a blow not only to the ossified political class but also to the austerity politics it had acceded to that was imposed on the debt-ridden nation by the E.U. As one popular

Syriza campaign slogan declared, "They decided without us. We'll go on without them."

A member of the Communist Youth of Greece as a teenager, Tsipras executed a canny political metamorphosis in the run-up to the May vote. The leader of a party that includes a range of leftists (such as Trotskyites and Socialists), he became the left-of-center standard bearer for antibailout and anti-austerity populism. "It's a paradox to think Greece can stay in the euro zone if the austerity policies continue to be implemented,"

Minister if that would pave the way for a coalition government that didn't include probailout parties. And even as he says that the status quo qua austerity is untenable, he reiterates his country's commitment to the euro. "It's not our choice for Greece to exit the euro zone, and it's not an option," he says. "Greece's fate is linked to Europe's and vice versa." Again and again, Tsipras insists he is not trying to blow up the euro and Europe. "Europe," he says, "has a special role globally as a stable and



**Drachmageddon?** Tsipras has gone from Communist Youth to anti-austerity populist

he says. "These policies were the wrong medicine for the crisis. When there is a patient and you give him medicine and it only makes him worse, it is not logical to insist on giving him a higher dose of the same medicine. If we continue taking this austerity medicine and especially at a higher dose, that's when Greece is going to be forced out of the euro. And when Greece leaves, the whole euro zone will start wobbling." Indeed, a Greek exit could begin a domino exodus of such troubled economies as Spain, Portugal, Ireland and even Italy, effectively wrecking the historic enterprise of the E.U.

Tsipras is playing the game shrewdly. He has said he would give up being Prime

secure power between the U.S. and rising superpowers. I believe it would be a tragedy if the euro, the second biggest reserve currency in the world, collapsed."

So what if Syriza takes charge but Europe doesn't go along with its proposal to drop austerity? What if Greeks revert to the drachma and lose up to two-thirds of the value of their savings and assets? Says Tsipras: "There's a team of economists who lay out the plans, update and communicate them. I am not superstitious, but I don't really want to talk about it." He says it's a scenario he wants to avoid at all costs. Ominously, he says, "We know the consequences."



# Economy

## Busted! How the IPO market can grow from the Facebook fiasco

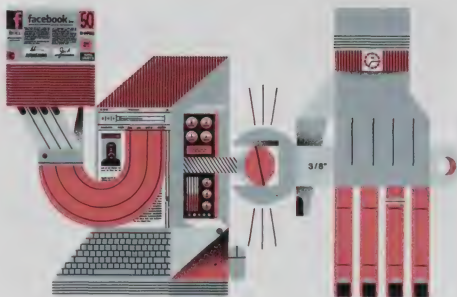
By Sam Gustin

FACEBOOK'S HIGHLY VAUNTED IPO WAS supposed to be a shining moment for American entrepreneurship. Instead, disaster struck: Nasdaq systems couldn't list the stock on time, would-be investors grew angry and impatient, and the actual share price—pegged at \$38, thanks to seemingly strong demand—plummeted 20% within two trading days of its debut.

Now investors are suing Facebook and its bankers, alleging that they disclosed information selectively to give preferred clients an unfair advantage. Meanwhile, top U.S. regulators are investigating exactly what Facebook's lead underwriter, Morgan Stanley, shared with clients pre-IPO.

All told, what should have been a triumph for Wall Street ultimately reinforced its most damning stereotypes: that IPOs are engineered to maximize venture-capital profits and banking fees at the public's expense and that its systems have become too complex to manage. "Unless the exchanges can convince people that the process is fair," warns Bob Henderson, a partner at financial-law firm Polsinelli Shughart, "they may not want to go back in."

So what—if anything—can restore investor confidence? Here are three IPO processes that could function better than Facebook's.



### WAYS TO AVOID A BOTCHED IPO

**1 Auction shares to anyone**

In a "Dutch auction" process, which Google used to go public in 2004, would-be investors bid whatever they want (above a minimum clearing price) on a select number of shares; highest bids are filled first. That way, average joes get the same access as Wall Street insiders, and the IPO reflects market demand. Google's Dutch auction worked well over the long term: the company's shares have soared nearly 500% since it went public.

**2 Let pros set the price**

Casual investors might want to buy IPO stock, but most don't know anything about valuing a company. In a two-stage IPO, as used by European mobile company Orange in 2001, they don't have to: the share price is set by experienced institutional investors, then the stock is offered to everyday folks at a slight discount. It's a great way to avoid a "retail frenzy" based on hype, says Tim Jenkinson, a finance professor at Oxford University.

**3 Increase transparency**

In the U.S., analysts at the banks underwriting IPOs are legally barred from publishing reports about them for at least 40 days, meaning the general public can't benefit from their expert insights. Not so in Europe, where top-notch research—about risk level, market potential and more—is available even before a company goes public. It's then shared quickly and widely, which helps assuage concerns and "create a level playing field," says Jenkinson.

### THE NEXT FACEBOOK? SIX START-UPS ON THE PATH TO GOING PUBLIC—WITH BETTER RESULTS



#### DROPBBOX

The cloud-based storage service already touts 50 million users and \$257 million in funding



#### JAWBONE

Its sleek, affordable accessories (see: the Jambox speaker) have become this year's tech must-haves



#### GILT GROUPE

The luxury flash-sales site offers deals from Christian Louboutin, Marc Jacobs and Cynthia Vincent



#### SQUARE

Its credit-card-reader smart-phone attachment is revolutionizing the payment industry



#### AIRBNB

The U.S. rent-your-home platform has booked 5 million nights and plans further global expansion



#### ROVIO

It aims to turn *Angry Birds*, the world's biggest mobile game, into a multimedia franchise

# Nation

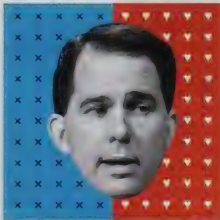
## The Survivor How Scott Walker went to war on his recall

By Alex Altman

NORMALLY FRIENDLY, WISCONSIN HAS been anything but in the past few months. Statewide, the question of whether to keep Governor Scott Walker or kick him out for slashing collective bargaining for most public employees has set neighbor against neighbor. Three in 10 Wisconsin voters have stopped speaking with someone about politics because of Walker, according to one recent poll. In Chippewa Falls, a woman hit her estranged husband with an SUV when he tried to block her from voting for a Democrat. In two towns near Milwaukee, the governor's campaign signs were set ablaze.

None of this was part of Walker's original plan when he assumed the governorship in 2011, but on a personal level, it is paying off nicely. Walker has surfed a controversy of his own making to the center of the national stage. Fellow governors have flocked to Wisconsin to campaign alongside him, lashing their reputations to his. Mitt Romney called him a "hero." In the final days before the June 5 recall election, he has shattered fundraising records, befuddled his opponents and pulled ahead in the polls. The referendum has transformed a rookie governor into a conservative superstar.

It's hard to see any of this from Madison, where the anti-Walker hostility is as high as it was 15 months ago, when he muscled a bill through the legislature that increased public employees' obligations toward their pensions and health care costs and stripped them of virtually all their negotiating rights. For weeks, protesters flooded the frozen capitol square, marching laps around the statehouse in the falling snow and huddling on the marble floors of the rotunda. As soon as Wisconsin law permitted, they organized a recall drive that netted nearly 1 million signatures.



Every weekday since the bill was signed, opponents have gathered at the capitol at high noon for an hour-long protest. "No matter what happens, this doesn't end here," says Chris Reeder, 41.

But while the activists chanted, the governor went to work. He raked in a record \$31 million to defend his seat, most of which came from out-of-state donors. Republicans poured that cash into a robust ground game, blanketing the airwaves with ads and making more than 2.5 million phone calls to energize supporters. "They can protest," Wisconsin GOP spokesman Ben Sparks says of Walker's opponents. "They've got us beat on that. But that's about all they've got us beat on."

By charging straight at his critics, Wisconsin may actually be moving closer to the Republican column. Having assembled a seamless campaign to defend their imperiled star, party elders hope that his survival could foreshadow Romney's ability to ride a similar coalition of fiscal conservatives, Tea Partiers and heavyweight donors to an upset in the state in November. While

**The referendum  
to recall Walker has  
transformed a  
rookie governor  
into a conservative  
superstar**

Republicans haven't won Wisconsin on the presidential level since 1984, George W. Bush nearly pulled off the feat twice, and Romney is only a step or two behind Barack Obama in recent polls.

Walker, meanwhile, has proved equal parts ideologue and tactician. In January 2011, just weeks before presenting his "budget repair" bill, he met with Diane Hendricks, a Wisconsin roofing tycoon who would become a top benefactor of his recall-defense fund. The way to change the state's political culture, Walker told Hendricks, was to "divide and conquer" its unions. Walker sidestepped some of the backlash that bruised Ohio's John Kasich in his attempt to curb collective bargaining. History suggests Walker has the advantage, and not just because of his fundraising haul. Only twice have sitting governors been recalled: North Dakota's Lynn Frazier in 1921 and California's Gray Davis in 2003.

Walker's survival would be a blow to his union opponents, who sought his removal not just as retribution but also to demonstrate their clout in "an era when labor's political muscle has atrophied if not disappeared," says former U.S. Labor Secretary Robert Reich. "That's the reason I'm such a target," Walker says. "If they don't take me out here, it opens the door" for Republicans—and perhaps some Democrats—to follow his example.

Walker has campaigned in a cocoon. He speaks in scripted sound bites, keeps the location of his headquarters secret and shuns rallies that might invite spectacles of dissension. Instead he makes pilgrimages to small businesses, territory both hallowed and safe. On a bright May morning, he was visiting a sheet-metal fabricator on the outskirts of Milwaukee when a factory worker stopped him and placed a hand on his shoulder. "My family and I are praying for you," he said. Walker looked gratified and a little relieved. If he prevails next week, he may even be vindicated. ■

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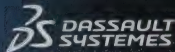
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# Business



## Retirement Repair

**Don't have a pension? Fear not. New 401(k) plans could make you feel like you do**

By Dan Kadlec

A DECADE AGO, 401(K) PLANS seemed like the ticket to carefree retirement. Workers enjoyed managing their own money and believed that 10% annual returns would flow for life like gravy. Employers were happy to match workers' contributions and ditch costly pensions. And policymakers thought they'd found the Holy Grail of quasi-social safety nets.

Now, in the wake of the Great Recession, poorly performing 401(k)s are losing their luster while savings schemes akin to your dad's trusty pension are coming back. With so many workers ill prepared for retirement, some big employers, like aerospace and manufacturing giant United Technologies Corp., are testing out ways for workers to shift 401(k) assets into investments that act like annuities. So you pay, say, 30% of your 401(k) balance in return for a lifetime income stream. UTC's Lifetime Income Strategy is set to launch June 1. Dallas-based

Baylor Health Care System rolled out its Income Plus option on 401(k)s for its 19,500 employees last year. And that's just the start. One in five employers expects to introduce a lifetime-income option to its 401(k) menu in the next year, according to BlackRock. "It's the right thing to do," says Robin Diamonte, UTC's chief investment officer.

It's also cheaper for companies than propping up tanking pension schemes. For United Technologies, which stopped offering a traditional pension to new workers two years ago, Diamonte says the guaranteed-income option on 401(k)s is "the best we can do."

The shift could help American savers. The new annuity-like products—which are basically mutual funds with insurance—don't offer the big returns you might get from stock investments in a 401(k). But they also don't carry the risk: your income may go up, but it will never go down. Lifetime-

income options are also more flexible than traditional pensions, since they move with employees who leave a company, and employees can take out money at any time. Plus, they offer peace of mind. Studies have found that retirees with lifetime income are happier and more confident about their finances. Baylor CEO Joel Allison added the option after learning that retirees with lifetime income were worrying employees. "They now have the ability to transition into retirement without any abrupt changes like learning to manage a [401(k)] lump sum," he says.

With interest rates so low, some consider annuities expensive and worry about inflation eating into returns. But companies like IBM and Smithfield Foods think the prospect of lifetime income might prompt employees to save more if it seems safer than stock-market gambling. In a murky economy, investing on autopilot can feel like its own reward.

## Planning for the Future Falls to You

Savers aren't the only ones stressing about their golden years. More firms facing big shortfalls in their pension funds are passing the buck to workers yearning for greater security.

Participants in employment-based retirement plans, by type




Underfunding of S&P 500 pensions



Sources: Employee Benefit Research Institute; Credit Suisse





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# A Vision of the Future

The ExploraVision competition sparks the imaginations of budding scientists at schools across the U.S. and Canada.

**R**EMEMBER THE CLUNKY HANDHELD calculators of the early '90s? Back then a quartet of third graders at Chattahoochee Elementary School in Duluth, Ga., pondered a serious question: How would the calculator evolve over the years, and what would the device look like in 2012 or so? Twenty years ago they entered their projections, accompanied by a video presentation, into the first ExploraVision, a science and technology competition sponsored by Toshiba, one of the world's leading high-tech innovators and a manufacturer of a broad range of advanced electronic and electrical products. Toshiba is also a major supporter of education in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Math) fields, and the program was designed to help inspire young people to excel—and maybe even continue on to careers in science and high-tech.

The kids from Georgia were among the first of the over 300,000 American and Canadian youngsters in grades K through 12 who have participated in the contest, which has become the world's largest of its kind, this year celebrating its 20th anniversary. "We wanted to create a program that would get children excited about science," says Yoshihide Fujii, chairman and CEO, Toshiba America, Inc., explaining the competition's origins. So Toshiba asked the National Science Teachers Association to create what became ExploraVision. Students working in teams of two to four are

challenged to research scientific principles and current technologies as the basis for designing innovative technologies that could exist 20 years later.

Among the winners in the first year of the contest were Brandon Luders, currently working for a Ph.D. in aeronautics and astronautics at MIT, and Dr. Maryellen Sun, now a radiologist at a Boston hospital. Luders was part of the third-grade team at the above-mentioned school in Georgia. (The other members were Roshni Bhimani, Ashley Freeman and Jonathan Rich.) They imagined—with remarkable clairvoyance for 8- and 9-year-

## 20 years of inspiring young minds.

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### Grades 10 - 12



### Grades 7 - 9



### Grades 4 - 6



### Grades K - 3



olds—that the calculator would become part of a far more complex instrument that would also be a telephone, a radio, a color TV and a link to the owner's bank account. The miniature instrument, which they dubbed PAL (Personal Automated Lifeguard), would be worn as a wristwatch.

"What we didn't foresee was the Internet," admits Luders. "But it was amazing how close we were to the way technology developed. To me a great value of the ExploraVision competition was that it taught us to be very forward thinking." Luders' work at MIT is focused on autonomous vehicles, and specifically on creating systems that ensure safe movement.

What might artificial limbs look like 20 years in the future? Dr. Sun wondered back in 1993, when she was a senior at Warwick Veterans Memorial High School, in Rhode Island. So she and three classmates—Lynn Marsella, Laurie Haley and Emily Gallagher—envisioned the Bio-prosthetic Arm of the Future, as they named their ExploraVision project. Suppose someone lost an arm in an accident. Her bone, muscle and other tissue might be lost, but the neurological network based in her spine that once directed the movements of that limb would survive. Cultured or transplanted muscle tissue could be integrated with a synthetic framework in this prosthetic arm and connected to the existing nerves. Electrical signals would stimulate the bio-prosthetic arm into movements much more natural than those of mechanical limbs.

The project both stimulated Sun's interest in neuroscience and made her aware of the importance of service to the community. She concentrated in biology and neurosci-



ExploraVision alumni: MIT's astrophysicist Luders; Harvard's Dr. Sun

ence as an undergraduate at Harvard and then went on to Harvard Medical School. Now she is a radiologist at Boston's Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Center, where she specializes in abdominal imaging, with a particular interest in the imaging diagnosis and evaluation of patients with renal cancer. As an instructor in radiology, she also teaches medical students and physicians.

How will today's familiar technologies evolve in the next 20 years? Will PCs be miniaturized to the size that they can be injected into humans to detect and correct body malfunctions? Kids, start thinking. O

JASON GIBSON/ARND BRONKHORST



Congratulations to this year's outstanding winners of the 20th TOSHIBA / NSTA ExploraVision program. As the world's largest K-12 science competition, ExploraVision continues to empower young minds to explore their fullest potential in science, technology, engineering and math. For 20 years, we've helped inspire students to become the next-generation scientists, entrepreneurs and innovators, who will lead the fields of innovation for all our tomorrow.

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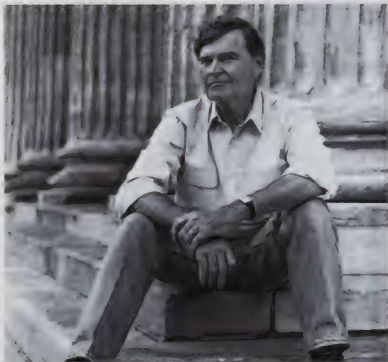
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# Milestones



## DIED Paul Fussell

The American cultural historian Paul Fussell held a personal disdain for anyone who would glorify war. After years of teaching 18th century British literature, in 1975 he crossed from academic to public intellectual with *The Great War and Modern Memory*, a seminal book examining how World War I, by its scope and immense carnage, caused a disillusionment that plagued Western society for decades. "The Great War was more ironic than any before or since," he wrote. "It reversed the idea of Progress."

But Fussell, who died May 23 at 88, had earned his scorn for war like few other critics. As a platoon leader in World War II he was wounded twice—once in an artillery barrage in southern France that killed several of his men—and earned a Bronze Star. "What happens in close combat is absolutely unknowable," he once said. "The temptation to run away, especially if you're a leader of troops, almost never gets a look... It's a struggle about manhood as well as a struggle to keep from being hit from flying metal." Fussell also produced probing examinations of class in America and British travel writing, as well as an account of his combat experience—experience that led to his utter disillusionment with war. —NATE RAWLINGS

**DIED**  
Wesley Brown, 85, who endured racial hazing to become the first black graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy in 1949; he later served 20 years as a Navy engineer.

**CLINCHED**  
The Republican presidential nomination, by Mitt Romney, who passed the crucial 1,144-delegate mark by winning the Texas primary on May 29.

**WON**  
The 96th Indy 500, by Dario Franchitti, husband of actress Ashley Judd: he won his third 500 in 91°F heat, which was 1°F shy of a race record.



## DIED Johnny Tapia

The tattoo on Johnny Tapia's torso said it all: "Mi vida loca"—"My crazy life." Tapia, who died May 27 of a drug overdose at 45, won world boxing titles in three weight classes: super flyweight (115 lb.), bantamweight (118 lb.) and featherweight (126 lb.). Drawing on the memory of his mother, who was kidnapped and murdered when he was 8, he tore into opponents, winning 22 fights without a loss before being suspended for drug use. His comebacks were punctuated by endless personal battles. (His drug abuse caused him to be declared clinically dead five times.) He won his last fight, nearly a year ago, by unanimous decision. But he could never extend his success in the ring to the world outside.



**HONORED**  
Bob Dylan, with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian prize. Among the 12 other recipients: John Glenn, Toni Morrison and Madeleine Albright.

**SENTENCED**  
Charles Taylor, ex-leader of Liberia, by a U.N.-backed criminal court in the Hague, to 50 years in prison for war crimes committed in neighboring Sierra Leone.

**DIED**  
H.H. Brookins, 86, former bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, who advised Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley and the 1984 presidential run by Jesse Jackson.



## DIED Doc Watson

It took a blind North Carolina mountain man to show country and bluegrass musicians what now seems obvious: the guitar isn't merely a backup instrument. Doc Watson, who was 89 when he died on May 29, had been blind almost from birth, but his physical limitations only enhanced his ability to learn Appalachian folk tunes by ear. After teaching himself how to flat-pick, he introduced the idea of swift guitar soloing to musical genres that often kept guitars in the shadows.

By the 1960s, Watson became well known via folk festivals and his now classic self-titled solo album. He never had a gold record. He just changed the way entire genres of music are played. —JOSH SANBURN

# Fareed Zakaria



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## The Case Against Intervention in Syria

Regime change is overdue, but a slow squeeze is a smarter solution than war

**I**N SYRIA, THE BRUTAL REGIME OF Bashar Assad is testing the proposition that repression works. The massacre of civilians in Houla is only the latest example of what appears to be a strategy of making no concessions and using maximum force. To the Assad regime's way of thinking, Egypt's Hosni Mubarak and Libya's Muammar Gaddafi erred by hesitating, emboldening the opposition and sowing doubts among their supporters. So far, Assad's strategy has worked. Kofi Annan's mission, which appears to be based on the idea that Assad will negotiate his own departure, seems utterly doomed. The U.S., the Western world, indeed the civilized world, should attempt instead to dislodge the Assad regime. Is there a smart way to do it?

**For a number of reasons, military intervention is unlikely to work in Syria.** Start with the geography: unlike Libya, Syria is not a vast country with huge tracts of land where rebels can retreat, hide and be resupplied. Syria is roughly one-tenth the size of Libya but has three times as many people. Partly for this reason, the Syrian rebellion has not been able to take control of any significant part of the country. Nearly half of all Syrians live in or around two cities, Damascus and Aleppo, both of which seem to remain under the regime's grip. Sporadic night attacks in other places recur, but they don't expand.

Nor is it clear that the Syrian opposition is capable of unity. Popular opposition to Assad is neither broad-based nor organized. The Syrian National Council, the umbrella group of organized opposition, appears unable to unify behind a leader, agenda or set of goals. Rima Fleihan, a grassroots activist who escaped from Syria to organize the opposition,

quit the council, telling the *New York Times*, "They fight more than they work."

The geopolitics of military intervention is also unattractive. Whereas in Egypt and even Libya, all the major and regional powers were on the side of intervention or passively accepted it, in Syria that is not the case. Iran and Russia have both maintained strong ties to the Assad regime. Were the Western powers

the army, intelligence services or business community are so far nonexistent. The regime was set up by Bashar Assad's father, Hafez Assad. The family is Alawite, a Shi'ite sect that represents only 12% of Syrians, and the key military and intelligence posts belong to Alawites. These loyalists stick with the regime because they know that in a post-Assad Syria, they would likely be massacred. But Assad has also been able to stop defections among the Sunni and Christian members of the ruling elite, presumably with a mixture of threats and bribes.

That's where the regime might be vulnerable. Syria is not an oil state; the regime does not have unlimited resources

with which to buy off elites. Were truly crippling sanctions to be put in place, including an embargo on energy, it is likely that the regime would begin to crack. That might result in a brokered exit for the Assad family or a full-scale collapse of the regime. It seems unlikely that the regime could persist without some source of cash.

### The Obama Administration

is rightly trying to approach this problem with as many allies as possible. It is also correct in trying to persuade Russia, if not to join the coalition, then at least to ease its objections to sanctions. Moscow is unlikely to take that step

until it concludes that the Assad regime is doomed and that Russia is better off positioning itself for whatever comes next. But even without Russia and Iran, rail sanctions and embargoes will slowly bankrupt the Syrian regime—and hasten its end.

It would be morally far more satisfying to do something dramatic that would topple Assad tomorrow. But starving his regime might prove the more effective strategy.



to intervene, it would quickly become a proxy struggle, with great-power-funded militias on both sides. That would likely result in a protracted civil war with civilian casualties that would dwarf the current numbers. To many observers the situation in Syria looks less like Libya and more like Lebanon, where a decades-long civil war resulted in over 150,000 deaths and a million displaced people.

Also absent in Syria is any sign of high-level dissent. Major defections from

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# The Long Goodbye

For five months, I was my parents' death panel. And where the costly chaos of Medicare failed, a team of salaried doctors and nurses offered a better way

By Joe Klein





Kindergarten classmates, high school sweethearts Malcolm and Miriam Klein shared 86 years



THE PHONE CALL CAME ON A CLOUDY morning in Iowa. I was interviewing Senator Chuck Grassley in his farm kitchen, surrounded by a sea of corn. Mom was back in the hospital again. She had pneumonia. She wasn't eating. "If we don't put in a feeding tube," my mother's internist told me, "she won't survive on her own."

Mom had always been vehement about how she wanted to go. "Just pull the plug. Let me die," she would say, with more than a hint of melodrama. "I don't want to be a vegetable." But was she a vegetable now? She had been suffering from dementia for several years and at times seemed to be living on a different, prohibitively weird planet populated by angels, murderers and secret paramours. At one point, I called from the road, and she told me she had taken a lover. He was in bed with her right now. They had made love three times. (She was 91.) "Where's Dad?" I asked. In the other room, she said. Which was true, both literally and metaphorically: Dad was also suffering from dementia but of a less florid and more truculent variety. He rattled between wild rages and utter forgetfulness; he was intermittently incoherent, having lost much of his ability to locate words.

Over time, though, Mom's angels and imaginary lovers disappeared, and an eerie dullness set in. She was rather limited in her responses now. "That's nice," she would say when I told her about my children and grandchildren. "I love you too," she would say. She never initiated conversation, but occasionally I could still make her laugh. Vegetables don't laugh.

"If we don't put in the tube, how long does she have?" I asked the doctor. He wasn't sure. He was the sort of doctor who was allergic to certainty or even to

ballpark estimates. "We've taken care of the pneumonia, but she's not eating," he repeated. So weeks? Days? She needs nourishment, he said. I was in Iowa. My brother was in Asia. I didn't want to sign a death sentence without even seeing her, without giving her a chance to rally. "O.K.," I told the doctor. "Put in the feeding tube. I'll be there as soon as I can."

THAT WAS THE BEGINNING. I SPENT THE next five months as a death panel for both my mother and my father. They passed away within a few weeks of each other last winter. The circumstances of their deaths were not unusual; many of my friends have been through similar experiences with their parents in recent years. But we grieve in different ways, and my way, I guess, is to write about it—and also to examine the policy implications of how we treat the elderly. Because it is clear to me, after this awful winter, that there are better ways to handle the endgame. I now believe, for example, that I made a mistake when I agreed to Mom's feeding tube. I believe that because I was extremely fortunate to transfer my parents, at the end, from regular fee-for-service Medicare to a private nursing home that used the Geisinger health care system, in which—as with the Mayo Clinic and others—doctors are paid salaries and outcomes-based performance bonuses rather than by the services they perform. It is a system that many health care experts see as a model, a way to save significant amounts of money while providing better care. I can't personally attest to the savings—although, as we'll see, the statistics are impressive—but I can say that the level of candor, sanity and humanity of the Geisinger doctors I dealt with was stunningly high. They helped me through some of the toughest decisions I've ever had to make. My parents died serenely, with dignity. When you are a death panel—when the time and manner of their passing is at least partly in your hands—that is the very best you can hope for.

But humanity before policy: let me tell you a little bit about my parents. They were born within a month of each other in 1920. They met on the first day of kindergarten. At P.S. 114 in Rockaway Beach, Queens, the children were arranged by height and marched into class together in two lines. My father was the shortest boy, my mother the shortest girl. They walked into class that first day holding hands. It wasn't exactly a straight line ever after.



Rummaging through their memorabilia, I found a picture of Ensign Malcolm Klein with a date at the Coconut Grove in Boston during the months that the U.S. Navy had sent him to Harvard Business School for advanced training as a supply officer in 1942. I found pictures of Mom with other guys as well. But Mom and Dad became engaged during the war, were married on May 13, 1945, and were inseparable after that.

Dad grew up in an upper-middle-class family; Mom was poor. Dad's father kept the books for the John F. Curry insurance agency—which meant, in effect, that he kept the books for Tammany Hall. Curry was boss during the Roaring '20s, the Jimmy Walker era. The '20s also roared for my mother's father Frank Warshauer. He was a professional musician who wrote a couple of Top 40 hits, which enabled him to buy a two-family house on the less fashionable bay side of Rockaway. (Dad's home overlooked the ocean.) The Warshauer house was my first home. If you've seen Woody Allen's film *Radio Days*, which takes place in Rockaway Beach, you get the picture: my parents and I lived upstairs; my grandparents and two maiden aunts, Rose and Madeline, lived downstairs. The aunts eventually



**Scenes from a life**  
Honeymoon, 1945;  
a last photograph; at my  
bar mitzvah, 1959



become part of the family retinue when my grandparents passed away.

Dad's ability to provide for everyone began with an incredible piece of luck in 1942: he won the largest daily double in the history of the Suffolk Downs race track: \$1,877.40. "Ensign Klien [sic] says he will use his winnings to purchase war bonds," the *Boston Record* reported. After the war, he used the money to buy a small printing company. By the time I joined the payroll at the age of 14, the company had grown to nearly 100 employees and was doing some of the finest lithography in New York.

I was extremely proud of my dad. I could see how his employees respected him. But they feared him too, and so did I. He had made an implicit deal with my mom: she was allowed to have her sisters live with us, and he was allowed to go about screaming like a banshee. He and Mom had a loving marriage, and they had fun. I have in my possession a certificate from the Irv Siegel School of Social Dancing honoring Mal and Miriam Klein for proficiency in "mambo, cha-cha-cha and merengue." But Dad was a terrifying presence in our lives. Even his fatherly duties—helping with a Cub Scout project or coaching Little League—were occa-

My parents died serenely, with dignity. When you are a death panel, that is the very best you can hope for

sions for embarrassing rages. I mention this because his anger intensified as he began to lose his wits; it was the terrain on which I had to maneuver as I sought to make decisions regarding my parents' health and safety after they retired to State College, Pa.

DAD BOUGHT A LOVELY HOUSE IN Brookline Village, one of those progressive-care communities that enable you to slide toward senescence from the complete independence of a single-family home to assisted living to nursing care, although Dad refused to slide. He remained flagrantly, stubbornly independent, running his household, which included my two inevitable aunts, even as his health began to decline and then plummet. All four were cared for during the day by two lovely Kazakh women whom Dad hired independently of Brookline Village, but as the years passed, it became apparent they weren't enough. Mom had gone blind—the victim of a rare form of glaucoma that wasn't detected until it was too late—and she suffered from neuropathy, which weakened her legs. Both she and Rose would fall on the way to the bathroom at night; the home health aides would find them on the floor in the morning. My brother and I suggested that he expand the home health care to a 24/7 operation—the Kazakhs had friends who would take the night shift—but Dad refused. "If he ran a nursing home with these conditions," my brother said, "he'd be arrested." (Dad relented only after a hospice worker, who would come to care for Aunt Rose as she neared death from congestive heart failure, threatened to call the authorities and have Mom and Rose removed.)

Things became impossible. Dad was going blind too, but he refused to give up his driver's license. I had to call the police to have it taken away, but he continued to drive anyway. At one point, his urologist called to tell me that Dad had driven into his parking lot and knocked down a sign: "Do you really think he should be driving?" After that, I had the Kazakhs hide the car keys. Dad followed Mom's precise path downward: his macular degeneration grew worse, he developed neuropathy, and dementia set in. He gave orders to his bookkeeper—who was now trying to keep track of the money owed six Kazakh caregivers—and his investment adviser, forgot them and then screamed. He fired the bookkeeper; the investment adviser quit. He caused a public ruckus by claiming that the manager of Brookline



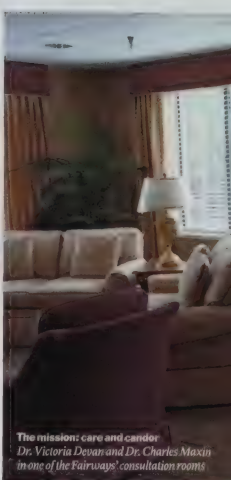
Village was cheating the homeowners, which made it impossible, initially, to move Rose and Madeline into either the assisted-living or nursing-home facilities there. He became credulously obsessed with his junk mail, sending thousands of dollars in donations to "charitable" lotteries run by phony patriotic and veterans groups. I'd tell him he was wasting his money, and he'd say, "But look at the printing. It's a beautiful four-color job." He screamed at the Kazakhs, who were patient beyond imagining. He screamed at Mom when the angels and murderers hovered about; he was a bit daunted by her phantom lover though.

Rose passed away in December 2010, and Mom began to decline thereafter. The emergency runs to the hospital became more frequent. She broke her elbow, her hip. And then, finally, came the pneumonia, and the feeding tube in October 2011. By this time, I'd had private conversations with several of my parents' doctors, who agreed—informally—to allow me to exercise my medical power of attorney. (My son, a lawyer, held the financial power of attorney.) We couldn't do this formally because Dad would have taken me to court. He was infuriated with me for stopping him from driving and forcing him to have full-time home health care. The hazy legality of the situation was exacerbated by the nature of the Medicare system. There was no coordination among the flotilla of physicians taking care of my parents. There was no real

supervision of their daily drug taking: Dad was in charge, and sometimes he'd screw up; it was hard for me to communicate on the phone with the Kazakhs, whose English was spotty. On several occasions, Mom was rushed to the hospital because the drugs prescribed by her various doctors had interacted poorly or Dad had given her the wrong dosage. Their internist was a sweet man, but he refused to confront my father. My brother, who was living in Asia by then, figured that only a disaster would change the situation. Instead of a disaster, though, we lucked into Geisinger.

HAPPILY, THE MANAGER AT BROOKLINE Village was willing to forgive Dad their very public battle and let me move them into the on-site nursing home, called the Fairways. I told Dad it was necessary for Mom to go there because of the intricacies of the feeding tube, which wasn't entirely true. And then I reminded him, "You always said you wanted to be with her. Maybe you should go in too. It'll help Mom recover." He agreed, then forgot we'd had the conversation. It took three more such talks—one with their internist—to get him into the facility, and even then, Dad would try to break out. He occupied the elevator in protest one day: I had the nurses give him a tranquilizer. And I must admit, I could see his point. The nursing home was first-rate, with a wonderful staff, but it was a death factory. People went in and didn't come out. The fellow in the room next to Dad's, a stroke victim, roared and cried incomprehensibly throughout the day, a terrible sound. "Why can't we just die at home?" Dad asked. It was a fair point, but I couldn't give the real answer: because it was safer for them in the nursing home and, as I soon learned, the quality of medical care—which was provided by the Geisinger system—was much better than what they'd been receiving.

My first conversation with a Geisinger doctor, Victoria Devan, was refreshingly different in a no-bull sort of way. I told her I had mixed feelings about Mom's feeding tube, that Mom had left clear instructions against prolonging her life—but I'd been out of town. I'd wanted to see if she would recover her appetite, and I wasn't sure how many days she'd have if we didn't put in the tube. Devan said she understood, "but we should keep a close eye on it. When they lose their appetites, they're usually telling us something." Devan also told me that Mom would have had weeks,



**The mission: care and candor**  
Dr. Victoria Devan and Dr. Charles Maxin  
in one of the Fairways' consultation rooms

perhaps a month, more of life if we hadn't inserted the tube. What a relief: clear, simple sentences. When I asked Devan about it later, she said she'd been relieved as well. "You got it," she said. "Sometimes the family members don't. Sometimes they want us to do all sorts of things that just aren't realistic, and we have to be very patient about walking them through the reality of the situation. You understood where it was heading."

A week later, I checked in again with Devan. Mom was eating less than 10% of her meals. "Maybe we could reduce the amount of food she's getting through the tube and see if her appetite revives?" I asked. Devan agreed but told me once again, gently, that the odds were that Mom wasn't coming back. And she was right. After another week had passed, my brother came home from Asia, and my wife and children joined me in State College for a meeting with Dr. Charles Maxin, who was Devan's senior colleague. He seemed like a figment of Norman Rockwell's



There was no coordination among the flotilla of physicians taking care of my parents



imagination—calm and reassuring and flagrantly decent. Like Devan, he didn't mince words. Mom wasn't responding; we were only prolonging the inevitable. He told us her death would not be painful. I looked around at my family and asked if anyone had any objections to pulling the plug on Mom. No one did.

"There's one other thing," Maxin said. "I noticed that your mom has a do-not-resuscitate order in her file, but your dad doesn't. Should we add it on?" I told Maxin that Dad acted as if old age were a reversible condition. He probably would want to be resuscitated. "Are you sure about that?" he asked. "You know that he broke two ribs when he fell in the bathroom last week. He's very frail. If we tried to resuscitate him, we'd probably break the rest of his ribs." This was startling but undeniable. I approved a do not-resuscitate order for Dad. It was becoming clear to me that in the gentlest possible way, these Geisinger doctors did not mess around.

THE GEISINGER MEDICAL CENTER SEEMS almost like a mirage. It is a giant, state-of-the-art medical facility plopped down amid farmland in the town of Danville, Pa. The hospital is the mother ship of an extensive network of medical practitioners tending to 2.6 million patients in 44 mostly rural Pennsylvania counties, including the doctors who took care of my parents at the Fairways. It was founded in 1915 by a widow named Abigail Geisinger and first directed by Harold Foss, a surgeon who had been an assistant to the famed Mayo brothers. Like the Mayo Clinic, it employed a team approach, with doctors, paid as employees rather than as independent operators, cooperating on patient care. "It's like hiring a general contractor to supervise the renovation of your house," says Henry J. Aaron, a health expert at the Brookings Institution. "He brings his team of subcontractors and coordinates their work. It's a lot more efficient than finding and organizing the carpenters, the

## Cost of Care. The 2002 average health care costs for the elderly across the U.S.

- **Nursing homes**, which can provide extensive, skilled medical care, are also the most expensive facilities. The median U.S. rate for a private room is \$222 per day. The highest costs are in Alaska, where the median daily rate for long-term care is \$783. The lowest median rate is in Missouri, at \$137.
- **Assisted-living facilities**, which often offer a homelike atmosphere, are the second most expensive option. The national median monthly rate for a one-bedroom private residence is
- **Home health aides** allow elderly patients to stay in their homes while receiving daily care. The national median hourly rate for a non-Medicare-certified aide is \$19. Minnesota has the highest median hourly rate, \$28; Texas has the lowest, \$13.
- **Private nursing homes**, which can provide extensive, skilled medical care, are also the most expensive facilities. The median U.S. rate for a private room is \$222 per day. The highest costs are in Alaska, where the median daily rate for long-term care is \$783. The lowest median rate is in Missouri, at \$137.

Source: Genworth 2002  
Cost of Care Survey

electricians and the painters by yourself."

There are good contractors and bad ones. The accountable-care-organization model—which is the emerging term of art for places like Mayo and Geisinger—was emulated in all its worst aspects when health-maintenance organizations (HMOs) emerged as a cost-cutting tool in the 1970s and then became unpopular when they became synonymous with hellish bureaucratic medical rationing. But during the years that HMOs were going in and out of fashion, a quiet revolution was beginning—the computerization of medical records. And Geisinger became a pioneer in analyzing those records to find out which sorts of treatment worked and which didn't. Over time, as the data accumulated, it has become clear that quality health care can be provided in a way that makes patients happy, with a minimum of draconian bureaucracy and for less money. "Our core belief is that about 40% of what doctors and hospitals do is wasteful," says Dr. Glenn Steele,

Geisinger's president. "If you can extract that percentage of crap, you can redistribute it into savings and profits but also into procedures that actually help patients."

Geisinger has found, for example, that by adding case managers—nurses who work by phone and in person from doctors' offices—to chronic elderly care cases (like my parents before they entered the nursing home), they can give more individual attention and produce better results. The case managers call or visit the patients regularly to make sure they've taken their medication, weighed themselves (on Bluetooth scales that send the results to the Geisinger computers), are eating the right things and are aware of upcoming appointments. They are also there to listen to complaints, which, as those of us who've been through parent care know, are not infrequent. A study published in the *American Journal of Medical Quality* found that this system produced 18% fewer hospital visits, a staggering 36% fewer return visits and cost savings of 7%. "Geisinger has made steady progress in reducing per capita Medicare costs over the past 20 years," says Dr. Elliott Fisher of the famed Dartmouth Institute for Health Policy and Clinical Practice. "It has gone from the middle of the pack to very near the top."

Over those years, Geisinger has quantified almost every aspect of health care. A bundle of nine routine procedures has been identified to treat diabetics, for example. The bonuses that Geisinger doctors receive depend on how closely they adhere to proven procedures, as monitored by the Geisinger computers. Bonuses also depend, in part, on how the patients rate their care, and doctors—who are not always the most sociable human beings—are asked to go through a bedside manner orientation program called Patients 101, which schools them in basic procedures like shaking hands with members of the patient's family, looking them in the eye and introducing themselves. This sort of training is especially important in a system in which doctors sometimes must try to deny care requested by patients or their families that is deemed unnecessary. "It takes more time and effort to sit down and have a discussion with the patient rather than just ordering the duplicative X-ray," says Dr. John Bulger, Geisinger's assistant chief quality officer. But the time spent on the discreet application of candor saves money and develops a deeper level of patient trust and satisfaction.

In my parents' case, Geisinger had



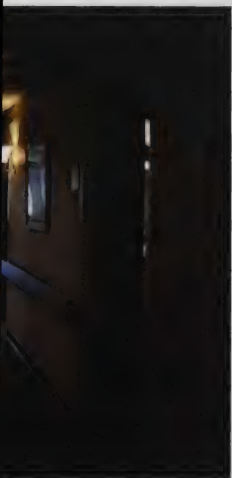
**The Fairways' better way**  
Coordinated care at the end  
eased decisionmaking

worked with the nursing staff at the Fairways. I was consulted about every adjustment in medication and told about every time Dad tried to do a walkabout and inevitably fell down. By the third week, the staff and I were co-conspirators, laughing about Dad's stubbornness and trying out new strategies to make him more content. The situation was, of course, horrific—Mom and Dad were both fading away—but I no longer felt so guilty and frustrated. I was part of a team making their passage as comfortable as possible. After the struggles I'd been through with Dad, it's hard for me to describe what a relief this was.

"This is such a terrific model," says Henry Aaron. "It costs less and gives better results. In a Darwinian business system, you have to wonder why it doesn't spread." Only about 33% of Americans get their health care through organizations like Geisinger. But the model is becoming more popular, encouraged by the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS), which has run hundreds of pilot

projects over the past six years. "If you're a group practice that joins one of the CMS pilots and prove you can improve service while cutting Medicare costs, you get to keep a portion of the savings," says Fisher. Much of the savings projected for the Affordable Care Act—Obamacare—would come from a broader application of his model.

But that's going to be a big fight and difficult to win: most doctors don't like the Mayo-Geisinger way of doing business. The culture of fee-for-service medicine, which features each doctor as the captain of his or her own ship, is incredibly powerful. "What you hear from doctors who don't like our system," says Steele, "is 'We don't want to be robots run by your computers.' But we encourage innovation if it really works." Devan says that while Geisinger doctors don't have to worry about the business hassles of running a fee-for-service practice, it isn't exactly natural for doctors to have their work under constant scrutiny by their peers.



Only about  
33% of  
Americans  
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systems  
like Geisinger

"We have monthly meetings where each patient is reviewed," she tells me. "That's a major cultural shift for most doctors."

The shortcomings of fee-for-service medicine are well known, especially when it comes to Medicare. At the age of 80, my mother insisted on having a heart-valve operation to fix a murmur she'd had since birth. "It's getting worse," she said. "I'm feeling more tired than I used to." The going rate for such operations was more than \$100,000, and Medicare paid for hers. The current system is rife with such unnecessary expenditures—"We're having a national epidemic of wrong patient operations," Fisher says—and it seems clear that a model like Geisinger's, in which doctors aren't rewarded for performing extraneous tests and operations, would be the best way to reduce the costs of Medicare. It also seems clear that asking people like my parents to make market decisions about their health care—the sort of system that Congressman Paul Ryan and other Republicans support—would be an act of cruelty and an unnecessary one at that. In the end, changing the way health care is provided rather than the way it is sold may be the most efficient way to generate savings.

DOCTORS ARE TRAINED TO DO WHATEVER they can to save a patient, even an elderly one, and that is an excellent thing. But that Hippocratic impulse has been subtly undermined by the rewards of fee-for-service medicine and by the threat of malpractice suits, which militate in favor of ordering the extra MRI or blood test or dialysis even for a patient who probably has only weeks to live. And so it was that when my father was rushed to the Mount Nittany Medical Center suffering from acute kidney failure in late January, the immediate impulse of the doctors in the emergency room was to try to revive him by rehydrating him. "That's how they're trained," my father's urologist, Dr. Charles Dalton, told me. Dalton is a terrific fee-for-service doctor who had impressed me with his Geisinger-like candor in the past. "But [rehydrating him] was probably the wrong thing to do," Dalton went on. "Renal failure is a good way to go. You just go to sleep. Your dad's kidneys are pretty much shot. You may revive him, but he'll be back here in a month, six weeks."

My next decision seemed obvious, but it was much tougher than removing Mom's feeding tube. This was Dad. He had always haunted my dreams, and now I had visions of the Mighty Malcolm rising from his hos-

pital bed, screaming at me for trying to kill him. But that Malcolm had disappeared after Mom passed away in November, a few weeks after the meeting with Maxin. At the end, I had fed her several teaspoons of chocolate ice cream and said, "I love you, Mom." Her last words were "I love you too." An hour later she was gone.

The next morning, I told Dad that for the first time in 86 years, there was no Miriam. "Is it definite?" he asked, crushed. His will to live vanished. He pretty much stopped eating. I tried to revive his interest in food by having the nursing home serve him more of the things he loved to eat—salads, pancakes, a glass of sweet white wine with dinner. "You did that? That's amazing," he said of the wine. "I really appreciate what you're doing. You're a good son," he said for the first time in my life. I told him he had been a great dad. "I could have been better," he replied.

But he forgot to ask for the wine with dinner. And he often forgot to eat dinner. He slept through most days. And about eight weeks after Mom died, his kidneys failed and I faced a final decision. Anil Aleti was the Geisinger doctor on call at Mount Nittany, and he was every bit as forthright as Maxin and Devan. We could keep Dad going with intravenous hydration, and he might last a month—there was no question of inserting a feeding tube—or we could stop. I called my brother and told him that I'd decided to let Dad go. He agreed, as he had every step of the way.

I sat by Dad's bedside for that final week in the nursing home. He opened his eyes a few times and tried to speak, but he couldn't. I held his hand; he squeezed mine once or twice. The morning he died, two angels from hospice care sat with my wife and me by his bedside; the nursing staff and Dr. Devan hovered about as well. Betsy Brett—the hospice supervisor who had been on the case since Rose died and had seen Dad rage against his twilight—explained how it would be. His breathing would become shallower, then more intermittent, then stop. And so it went: Dad seemed to sigh at the end. He inhaled and sighed and was gone. He was not a religious man, but there was a gorgeous serenity in this moment—and there was a certain satisfaction for me too, surrounded by the caregivers who had helped me through this passage to ward my own maturity, caregivers who really knew how to give care.

TO WATCH JOE KLEIN TALK ABOUT HIS STORY,  
GO TO [time.com/klein\\_video](http://time.com/klein_video)

NATION

How the bear-hugging, pain-feeling, close-talking, heart-on-his-sleeve Vice President became the Obama campaign's not-so-secret weapon

MO

JOE

BY  
MICHAEL  
SCHERER







him. This year, the early polls are starting worse, and if Romney can escape the caricature of the guy who likes "being able to fire people," Obama could fall further behind. The last ABC News/Washington Post poll has Obama at 34% with non college-educated white men. A third.

So Biden keeps returning to places like Toledo, Ohio; Davenport, Iowa; and Coconut Creek, Fla.—hubs of what he still calls "the ethnic vote," which are the Irish, Italians and Polish Catholics and the South Florida Jews. He hits the barbecue joints, hams it up at the pasta houses and works the union halls: 67 campaign rallies and fundraising events so far this cycle. Obama's political guru David Axelrod offers Biden his highest praise: "He's been a national figure for more than four decades, but he hasn't lost that common touch," Axelrod says. "He'd be a great alderman."

In truth, there is no one else left doing what Biden does these days: offering himself up, reaching out, sharing the pain

Mom and Dad, God rest their souls, the rich and the rest. Tip O'Neill had a saying: "All politics is local." Biden prefers the municipal analog, "All politics is personal." "In my neighborhood, where I come from, where these folks come from, everybody knows they've got to chip in," he says at the lunch counter at Hog Father's Old Fashioned BBQ outside Pittsburgh. "What they don't like is turning around and finding they are being played for a sucker."

That's Biden without the teleprompter, subtly digging at the Republicans. His written remarks hit much harder. He crafts them in weekly phone calls with the top Chicago brass—Stephanie Cutter, Jim Messina and Axelrod. Then he talks the message through with his own staff, telling them it's got to be more personal, more from the heart. It's not about a job; it's about pride. It's not about layoffs; it's about dignity. He is an "oral" guy, they all say, which means he doesn't write anything down. Don't bring me anything your mother

microphone, which cheers the Romney guys in Boston. They can't wait to string it all together, the crazy-man Biden reel. After all, they point out, Joe is nobody's savior at the polls. Biden's national favorability isn't good. In swing states, it is even worse: 40% favorable and 54% unfavorable. That's worse than Romney's national numbers, and Biden, who may have been dragged down by his attack posture, is already far better known.

But Biden never retreats, and he won't rule out running in 2016 for the top job. He knows the jokes. He hears the Tea Party protesters chanting "Uncle Joe has got to go" behind the Secret Service cordon. When the *Onion* published a fake story about him polishing his Pontiac Trans Am shirtless in the White House driveway, he came back over the top. "You think I'd drive a Trans Am?" he told *Car and Driver*. "I have been in my bathing suit in my driveway and not only washed my Goodwood Green 1967 Corvette but also simonized it"—as if



see graphic on page 30.)

like that. Neither Romney nor Obama has this pastoral gene. The President can connect, but he goes the route of the inspiring movement leader, not the hearty pol. No one ever accused him of needing to win every room. Romney's comfort zone lies somewhere between the boardroom and the Fourth of July parade. He hits Obama for failing the country and then recounts the lyrics of his favorite patriotic songs. "If you count corn as an amber wave of grain, why, you have them right here," Romney used to say awkwardly in Iowa.

Biden can make both men look like retail amateurs. He speaks a tribal tongue of neighborhood pride, of us vs. them, of

wouldn't understand, he says. "He puts it in Bidenese," explains Cutter.

And then he delivers it as if the world could end. "They don't get us. They don't get who we are," he thunders in Steubenville, Ohio. "We're like everybody else, man," he cries out in Martins Ferry a day later. "We're like the rich guys. We dream." The rich guys are Romney and his pals, and they want the "financialization of every product." Biden says Romney's financial background no more prepares him for the White House than a plumber's background would. "And by the way, there are a lot of awful smart plumbers," he adds. Sometimes he shouts from the

the *Onion* writer had ever heard of simonizing. The \$10 Joe Biden beer cozy that reads CHEERS CHAMP is a best seller on the Obama campaign website, along with the T-shirt that reads HEALTH REFORM STILL A BED. He's done *Meet the Press* 37 times since 2007, but it was only in his last appearance that he started saying "man" like some 1950s hep cat. "These guys wouldn't even let us put back to work 400,000 teachers, firefighters and cops by a 0.5% tax on the first dollar after the first million you made," he said of the Republicans in Congress. "C'mon, man."

The official line among senior aides at the White House is that Biden is performing

## All the Right Moves. How Biden works a rope line



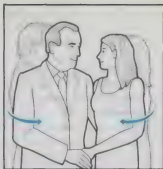
**The Shoulder Pull** He puts his hands firmly on the voter's shoulders and pulls the body closer to talk.



**The Head Bump** He places one hand on each cheek and presses his forehead against the voter's.



**The Neck Grab** He puts his palm around the back of the voter's neck, fingers horizontal, to pull it near.



**The Hand Hold** Even after the initial hug, Biden often keeps holding the voter's hand while photos are taken.

above expectations. Even the gaffes are not as big a problem as they feared. That gay-marriage fumble—sure, it hurt, made the President look craven, but Biden did it for the right reason. “I’m never going to blame anybody for telling what they believe,” Obama told the women of *The View*. In private, Biden acts as if he loves it. Speaking to a group of volunteers in North Carolina without a reporter in the room, he admits that the gaffes happen. But then he quotes the old saw. “In Washington, a gaffe is telling the truth,” he says. The troops go wild. That’s Joe, man.

### The Guy Who Never Stops Talking

IT COMES DOWN TO THIS, AND EVERYONE knows it: Biden’s greatest strength is also his greatest weakness. But if you bottle up the effusiveness or eliminate the lack of discipline, you could lose it altogether. “I’m not wearing any funny hats, and I’m not changing my brand,” Biden says he told the President when he took the job. Obama was wary once, annoyed when he came to the Senate that Biden, then a leader of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, didn’t pay him any mind; on edge when Biden kept fumbling around during the 2008 campaign; and visibly steamed when Biden went off rambling in their early joint White House appearances. But Obama kept his promise. No funny hats, and the Vice President came to whatever meetings he wanted, always got to weigh in. That doesn’t mean the President agreed. Biden

was against mandating contraception coverage for Catholic institutions, and he wanted to delay the Osama bin Laden raid. But he knows he was heard.

When governing called for hand holding, for someone to win the room, that’s when the President deployed his man. Biden went to Iraq eight times after the elections in 2008 to teach everyone how to get along. When the crown prince of Bahrain came to town, Obama asked Biden to do the meeting, and he has done the same with China’s likely next President, Xi Jinping. After the Recovery Act passed, Biden got tied to the conference calls because he had the patience to keep hundreds of governors, mayors and county officials out of trouble with several hundred billion dollars in the pipe. And then there is Capitol Hill: Obama still hasn’t won those rooms. But he can send Biden to meet with Mitch McConnell over tax cuts. He can have Biden invite Eric Cantor and his wife Diana to dine with him and Jill at the residence. They are all “good guys” to Biden. Pretty much anyone is.

And it never matters just who shows up in the room. One day in mid-April, back in the Vice President’s suite of offices, Alex Trebek arrives with his *Jeopardy!* camera crew. Biden is going to be reading the answers for an upcoming episode—another chance for election-year exposure, another opportunity to win the room. “Alex, if I had your hair, I would be President,” Biden says. Then he greets the cameraman. “We

are buddies from two minutes ago,” he says. He struggles through the backward grammar of *Jeopardy!* answers and then offers to show Trebek where he signed his name, next to Dick Cheney’s, in Teddy Roosevelt’s desk.

“I’ve been assigned six states,” Biden tells Trebek when talk turns to the campaign. “Pennsylvania, my home state. Ohio, Iowa, believe it or not, New Hampshire, Florida.” This is off message. His press handlers are clenching their teeth. Officially, in Chicago, there are no assignments: Biden campaigns all over the country. But he goes on. “Now they are talking about assigning me either Virginia, Nevada or North Carolina,” he says. “We started off with Michigan, but we look like we are in pretty good shape in Michigan.”

Trebek and the crew, of course, eat it up. They pose for pictures as Biden explains the Electoral College. “If we win Ohio or Florida, there is no way I think they can pull it together,” he says of the Republicans, another thing he is not supposed to say. And then he has to go, for fundraisers out west. “Anybody want a ride on Air Force Two to California?” Biden offers the crew. They don’t seem to know what to say.

On the way out of the building, Trebek, who knows likability, can’t stop talking about the guy who never stops talking. “He wants to be your friend. He wants you to like him,” the game-show host says of his Vice President. “And there is nothing wrong with that.”

v is for  
versatile.



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SOCIETY

# LAST DANCE

For kids and communities across America, prom night is both a rite of passage and a sign of the times

PHOTOGRAPHS BY GILLIAN LAUB FOR TIME



**SAN LUIS HIGH SCHOOL SAN LUIS, ARIZ.**

**From left: Miguel Castanos, 18; Eliza Lopez, 18; Flavio Fonseca, 18; Alexandra Mata, 17; Dellala Robles, 17; Arturo Garcia, 20.**

San Luis High School is located near the U.S.-Mexico border, and several of its students traveled across it to get their hair and makeup done for the prom, including Mata. "It's the one event that brings the whole school together," she says.

**T**HE WORD *PROM* FIRST APPEARED IN 1894 in the journal of an Amherst College student on his way to a dance at Smith College. But it took root as a high school tradition: before the ritual parting of graduation, one last, fleeting night of fun. "I mean, where else do you get to wear a fancy dress and dance for four hours?" says Norah Owings, a senior at Elkton High School in Elkton, Ore.

These days, getting ready for prom plays as big a role as the dance itself, and it plays out to big business. A survey published this spring predicted families would spend an average of \$1,078 on prom costs. The girls from New Jersey's Dwight Englewood School who wore dresses by designers like Alice Temperley and Roberto Cavalli spent much more, while many students from Joplin High School in Joplin, Mo.—the site of a devastating tornado last May—arrived at prom in donated attire.

Proms tell other stories too. In April, Montgomery County High School in Mount Vernon, Ga., held a prom that allowed white and African American students to convene in the same auditorium for just the third time in the school's history. In Massachusetts, the Boston Alliance of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Youth (BAGLY) hosted its 32nd annual prom—the nation's oldest for LGBT youth—10 days after Barack Obama became the first U.S. President to endorse gay marriage.

"We've known each other forever," says Owings, who is one of a graduating class of 15. "So it's a bit sad that this is the last time we're really getting together." They all went bowling after prom; four hours pass so quickly, and they didn't want the night to end. —FEIFEI SUN

#### BENJAMIN BANNEKER ACADEMY BROOKLYN

##### Sibongile Toure, 16

*Toure, above, left, an American Muslim student, asked her mother to design a Muslim-themed prom. Above, right, is another student in accordance with Islamic law. "I always knew I going to prom," Toure says. "I said, 'I'm married,' and she said, 'You're not.'"*

#### JOPLIN HIGH SCHOOL JOPLIN, MO.

##### Corinne Worley, 15, and Tyler Hankins, 18

*On April 4, 11 months after a tornado ripped through their town and killed 16 people, Joplin High School seniors attended their prom. The theme was "Once upon a Time." "Everyone knew a friend who lost someone or something in the tornado last year," says Hankins, far right. "The student body seemed a lot closer than ever."*





**THE BOSTON ALLIANCE OF  
GAY, LESBIAN, BISEXUAL  
AND TRANSGENDER YOUTH**  
BOSTON

**Daunasia Yancey, 20, and  
Alyssa Green, 21**

It was Thursday evening, they attended BAFY's event, the nation's oldest event for LGBT teenagers. "Bafy is a great opportunity to be with other LGBT youth and party at midnight," says Yancey, who is a high school senior. "I would love to be a part of the LGBT community and work with people like you. I want to be a part of the LGBT community. I don't want to be a part of it."







**MONTGOMERY COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL**  
MOUNT VERNON, GA.

**Juquan Peebles, 17, and Brooke Beecher, 18**

Until last year, Montgomery County High School held separate proms for African-American and white students. Peebles, far left, and Beecher, near left, were the only interracial couple to attend the integrated event this year. "In the past, people weren't used to it," Peebles says. "But this year it was just a really fun party for everyone, and when it's over, everyone's going to be talking to Brooke in seventh grade."



**DWIGHT-ENGLEWOOD SCHOOL**  
ENGLEWOOD, N.J.

**Anna Karpman, 18**

"It's a last hurrah," says Karpman, above, standing, of her senior prom, held on May 18. "The boys finally look together, and with the girls, I said, about who they're wearing." Karpman, who plans to attend Parsons the New School for Design in New York City this fall, chose a Vera Wang dress, Jimmy Choo heels and an Oscar de la Renta cuff. "I wanted a dress that was eclectic," she says.





HEALTH SPECIAL

# DOES GOD WANT YOU TO BE THIN?

A Bible passage inspired Pastor Rick Warren's congregation to lose a collective 260,000 pounds. How faith can fight obesity

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BY JEFFREY KLUGER AND  
ELIZABETH DIAS/  
LAKE FOREST

Glenn and are the sleek  
When you have all the  
no fat, really is a go





## Rick Warren was once a very fat man. It's not as if he's skinny now, which as you discover when you meet him is kind of a nice thing.

"Have you hugged a pastor today?" he asks as he enters a room. "It's good for your health." And it does seem that way, since to share a hug with Warren is to be gathered into a big, benign, bearish embrace—a feeling that makes you hope he never loses another ounce.

But Warren, 58, once weighed 295 lb.—90 lb. too much for his 6 ft. 3 in. frame—and still needs to drop another 35 lb. to reach a healthy weight. It hasn't taken him all that long to lose as much as he has; he began getting fit only in the past 18 months, which is an awful lot less time than it took him to get fat. "I've only put on 3 lb. a year," he tells the members of his evangelical Saddleback Church in Lake Forest, Calif. "But I've been your pastor for 30 years."

Nearly everything about Warren is big. Saddleback has a stunning 20,000 weekly attendees across 10 campuses. He is the author of multiple books, including *The Purpose Driven Life*, the best-selling nonfiction

hardback in American history—after the Bible, appropriately—with 32 million copies in print worldwide and editions published in 97 languages. He gave the invocation at the 2009 presidential Inauguration and interviewed candidates Barack Obama and John McCain one on one on national TV in 2008, a gig most news anchors would kill to land.

But in 2010, Warren discovered a problem in his church. It was after a high-volume baptism session, when he and other Saddleback pastors administered the sacrament to some 800 congregants in under four hours. That's three per minute, and since Warren prefers to baptize by immersion, he wound up having to dip and lift a whole lot of cumulative weight. "Man, we're all fat," he recalls thinking.

And so they were. As the church members later learned, the average weight of Saddleback women was 170 lb., and it was 210 lb. for men—which meant Warren

and the others immersed 160,000 lb. of very unhealthy humanity that day. Before the ceremony was even over, he decided to do something about it. The answer, he believed, lay in the Book of Daniel.

One of the 39 books of the Old Testament, Daniel tells the story of four Jewish boys who were taken to the court of the conquering King Nebuchadnezzar to be trained and fed in the royal manner so that they might serve in the King's palace. The boys, led by Daniel, accepted the King's teaching but would go nowhere near the King's table, refusing to defile themselves with the meat and wine he offered them. They chose vegetables and water instead—and grew fitter and finer for their efforts.

Warren's congregants were moving in precisely the opposite direction, and Americans in general have been doing the same: two thirds of adults in the U.S. are overweight or obese, as are up to one-third of children. More than 20% of all adolescents have diabetes or prediabetes, up from 9% in 2000. Portion sizes and waistlines are out of control, and the current generation of kids is on track to be the first in American history to be less healthy than their parents.

Warren reckoned that he was in a position to help change all that and on Jan. 15, 2011, launched the Daniel Plan, a

## True Believers. Nine Daniel Plan enthusiasts describe its impact on their lives

KENDAL ROCK	C.J. LAND	KATHRYN LAND	CAROL HASBUN	CHLOE CHIUQUITA SEALS	ETIENNE STEPHEN	JOANN ROOT	MELANIE BLACK	JIM BLACK
Laid off 182 lb.	Lost 100 lb. in 18 months	Lost 100 lb. in 18 months	7 lb. down 73 more to go	Lost 175 lb.	Lost 100 lb. in 18 months	Daniel Plan volunteer	Improved vision, conquered cravings	No more sleep apnea or anxiety

# BEHIND AMWAY PRODUCTS THERE'S A QUALITY STORY.

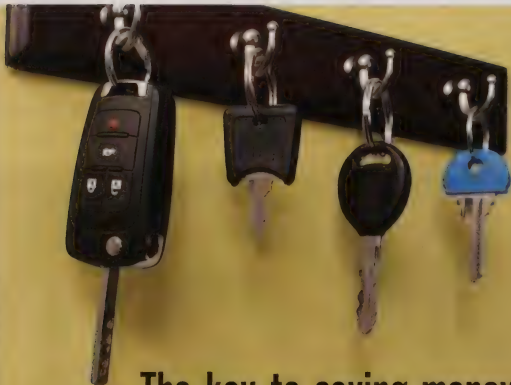
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## For God and Waistline. What the Daniel Plan tells its followers



### 1. Connect for success

Talk with a doctor and learn your overall health status, including your measurements. Get the bad foods out of your pantry, and above all, join a small support group at your church.



### 2. Rely on God's power

Find encouragement from Bible passages like this one from the New Testament: "I can do all things through Christ, who gives me strength."

### 3. Eat delicious whole foods

Follow the 70/30 rule: 70% of a daily diet should consist of whole foods like raw or lightly cooked vegetables, fruit, nuts and seeds, while 30% is for lean protein, whole grains and starchy vegetables.



### 4. Move your way to health

Stay active daily. God made the human body for movement, and exercise can be fun, so

find ways to enjoy it. It's not just about improving posture and flexibility; build in hikes with friends and postdinner swims.



### 5. Think sharper and smarter

Get at least seven to eight hours of sleep per night. Deep breathing and exercise will help reduce stress. Avoid brain robbers like alcohol, drugs, cigarettes, cigars and concussion-causing sports. Adding certain spices to your food can stimulate your brain. (Sage may boost memory, and cinnamon may increase attention.) When negative thoughts pop into your head, replace them with Scripture.

### 6. Heal for life

The Daniel Plan is a lifestyle, not a diet. The point is long-term abundance, not deprivation. Sugar addictions and food cravings trigger overeating, often leading to chronic diseases. Like Daniel before the conquering King, refuse to compromise.



sweeping health-and-fitness program for Saddleback members that begins with a commonsense diet of 70% unprocessed fruits and vegetables and 30% lean protein, whole grains and starchy vegetables. The plan includes exercise groups, nutrition training, sports, recipe tips, small support group meetings, Walk and Worship sessions and more.

Warren and his team expected perhaps 200 people to sign up after the kick-off rally, but 6,000 did, with another 1,200 joining online—a number that has risen to 15,000. The church has lost a collective 260,000 lb. in the past year, and Warren jokes that he's shooting for the equivalent of a jumbo jet (800,000 lb., for the record, fully fueled and loaded). A man with Warren's profile attracts other big names, and Drs. Mehmet Oz, Daniel Amen and Mark Hyman—a cardiologist, a neurologist and a nutritionist (and significantly, of Muslim, Christian and Jewish roots)—have volunteered their time to the cause.

You don't have to be a cynic to observe that diet plans that make and at first support extraordinary claims are not new. But

you don't have to be a person of faith—any faith—to admit that a wellness plan based at least in part on Scripture seems fresher. A robust body of scientific evidence supports a link between faith and health. Attendance at religious services has been shown to add two to three years to life, for example. You may believe there's something divine in that; you may believe it's simply the proven ability of any group to improve the welfare of all its members. Either way, you can't argue with the results.

"The community is the cure," says Hyman. "The group is the medicine. There are feedback loops, accountability, support."

Those are all things Warren's church serves up—along with a very generous helping of evangelical Christianity. The central belief that drives the Daniel Plan is best captured by a T-shirt many of the participants wear that reads, "God created it/ Jesus died for it/ The Holy Spirit lives in it/ Shouldn't you take care of it?" The it, of course, is the body, and evangelicals teach that it's not yours at all. Instead, our bodies are gifts from God, and we are expected to return them in the best shape possible.

In the same way some religious communities found their way to environmentalism through the idea that we are only stewards of the earth, so too must we remember that we are not the sole owners of our flesh.

"My body is not my own. My body is on loan," says Jim Black, a physical therapist who joined the program with his wife Melanie. "I have to give it back."

The Book of Daniel does not actually prescribe a diet to help us look after ourselves. "Nowhere in the Bible does it say, 'This is what they should eat,'" says C.L. Seow, a Daniel scholar and professor at Princeton Theological Seminary. The critical passage, he explains, has to do with resistance, with a rejection of privilege. "The point is the triumph of God."

Even the sins of gluttony and vanity—dieting's opposite poles—have no real role in the Daniel Plan. "That doesn't reflect my heart," says Dee Eastman, a Saddleback member and the director of the Daniel Plan. Instead, she explains, it is about freeing people from shame or illness so that they can fulfill God's plan for them. God does not necessarily want you to be thin,

# Clearer skin

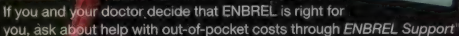


**Bill M., ENBREL user since 2005**

ENBREL can lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections. Serious infections have happened in patients taking ENBREL, including tuberculosis (TB).



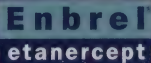
**No out-of-pocket cost for 6 months\***



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- **Disadvantage of IT in HRM:**
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the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are illiterate has increased from 1.2 billion to 1.5 billion. The number of illiterate people in the world is expected to increase to 1.7 billion by the year 2015. The number of illiterate people in the world is expected to increase to 1.7 billion by the year 2015.

10. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 271:1231-1232, 1994

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Reprints: 10 copies for \$10.00; 25 copies for \$25.00; 50 copies for \$45.00; 100 copies for \$75.00. All orders must be prepaid. Please allow 4-6 weeks for delivery.



## Medication Guide Enbrel® (en-brel) (etanercept)

Read the Medication Guide that comes with Enbrel before you start using it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This Medication Guide does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition or treatment. It is important to remain under your doctor's care while using Enbrel.

Enbrel is a prescription medicine called a Tumor Necrosis Factor (TNF) blocker that affects your immune system.

### What is the most important information I should know about Enbrel?

Enbrel may cause serious side effects, including:

1. Risk of Infection
2. Risk of Cancer

#### 1. Risk of Infection

Enbrel can lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections. Some people have serious infections while taking Enbrel. These infections include tuberculosis (TB), and infections caused by viruses, fungi, or bacteria that spread throughout your body. Some people have died from these infections.

- Your doctor should test you for TB before starting Enbrel.
- Your doctor should monitor you closely for symptoms of TB during treatment with Enbrel even if you tested negative for TB.
- Your doctor should check you for symptoms of any type of infection before, during and after your treatment with Enbrel.

You should not start taking Enbrel if you have any kind of infection unless your doctor says it is okay.

#### 2. Risk of Cancer

- There have been cases of unusual cancers in children and teenage patients who started using TNF-blocking agents at less than 10 years of age.
- For children, teenagers and adults taking TNF-blocker medicines, including Enbrel, the chances of getting lymphoma or other cancers may increase.
- People with rheumatoid arthritis or psoriasis, especially those with very active disease, may be more likely to get lymphoma.

### Before starting Enbrel, be sure to talk to your doctor:

Enbrel may not be right for you. Before starting Enbrel, tell your doctor about all of your medical conditions, including:

#### Infections – tell your doctor if you:

- have an infection. (See “What is the most important information I should know about Enbrel?”)
- are being treated for an infection.
- think you have an infection.
- have symptoms of an infection such as fever, sweats or chills, cough or flu-like symptoms, shortness of breath, blood in your sputum, weight loss, muscle aches, warm, red or painful areas on your skin, sores on your body, diarrhea or stomach pain, burning when you urinate or urinating more often than normal and feel very tired.
- have any open sores on your body.
- have a lot of infections or have infections that keep coming back.
- have diabetes, HIV or a weak immune system. People with these conditions have a higher chance for infections.
- have TB, or have been in close contact with someone with TB.
- were born in, lived in or traveled to countries where there is a risk for getting TB. Ask your doctor if you are not sure.
- live, have lived in or traveled to certain parts of the country (such as the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys, or the Southwest) where there is a greater risk for getting certain kinds of fungal infections (histoplasmosis, coccidioidomycosis, blastomycosis). These infections may happen or become more severe if you use Enbrel. Ask your doctor if you do not know if you live or traveled in an area where these infections are common.
- have or have had hepatitis B.

### Also, BEFORE starting Enbrel, tell your doctor:

- About all the medicines you take including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements including:
  - **Grencia® (abatacept) or Kinect® (anakinra).** You have a higher chance for serious infections when taking Enbrel with Grencia® or Kinect®.
  - **Cyclophosphamide (Cytoxan®).** You may have a higher chance for getting certain cancers when taking Enbrel with cyclophosphamide.
  - **Anti-diabetic medicines.** If you have diabetes and are taking medicine to control your diabetes, your doctor may decide you need less anti-diabetic medicine while taking Enbrel.

Keep a list of all your medications with you to show your doctor and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine. Ask your doctor if you are not sure if your medicine is one listed above.

### Other important medical information you should tell your doctor BEFORE starting Enbrel, includes if you:

- have or had a nervous system problem such as multiple sclerosis or Guillain-Barré syndrome.
- have or had heart failure.
- are scheduled to have surgery.
- have recently received or are scheduled to receive a vaccine.
  - all vaccines should be brought up-to-date before starting Enbrel.
- people taking Enbrel should not receive live vaccines.
- ask your doctor if you are not sure if you received a live vaccine.
- are allergic to rubber or latex.
- the needle covers on the single-use prefilled syringes and the single-use prefilled SureClick® autoinjectors contain dry natural rubber.
- have been around someone with varicella zoster (chicken pox).
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. It is not known if Enbrel will harm your unborn baby.
- **Pregnancy Registry:** Amgen has a registry for pregnant women who take Enbrel. The purpose of this registry is to check the health of the pregnant mother and her child. Talk to your doctor if you are pregnant and contact the registry at 1-877-311-8972.
  - are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed. It is not known if Enbrel passes into your breast milk. You and your doctor should decide if you will take Enbrel or breast feed. You should not do both.

### See the section “What are the possible side effects of Enbrel?” for more information.

#### What is Enbrel?

Enbrel is a prescription medicine called a Tumor Necrosis Factor (TNF) blocker.

Enbrel is used to treat:

- **moderately to severely active rheumatoid arthritis (RA).** Enbrel can be used alone or with a medicine called methotrexate.
- **psoriatic arthritis.** Enbrel can be used alone or with methotrexate.
- **ankylosing spondylitis (AS).**
- **chronic moderate to severe plaque psoriasis in adults ages 18 years and older.**
- **moderately to severely active polyarticular juvenile idiopathic arthritis (JIA) in children ages 2 years and older.**

You may continue to use other medicines that help treat your condition while taking Enbrel, such as nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs (NSAIDs) and prescription steroids, as recommended by your doctor.

Enbrel can help reduce joint damage and the signs and symptoms of the above mentioned diseases. People with these diseases have too much of a protein called tumor necrosis factor (TNF), which is made by your immune system. Enbrel can reduce the effect of TNF in the body and block the damage that too much TNF can cause, but it can also lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections. (See “What is the most important information I should know about Enbrel?” and “What are the possible side effects of Enbrel?”)

#### Who should not use Enbrel?

Do not use Enbrel if you:

- have an infection that has spread through your body (sepsis).

#### How should I use Enbrel?

- Enbrel is given as an injection under the skin (subcutaneous or SC).
- If your doctor decides that you or a caregiver can give the injections of Enbrel at home, you or your caregiver should receive training on the right way to prepare and inject Enbrel. Do not try to inject Enbrel until you have been shown the right way by your doctor or nurse.
- Enbrel is available in the forms listed below. Your doctor will prescribe the type that is best for you.
  - Single-use Prefilled Syringe
  - Single-use Prefilled SureClick Autoinjector
  - Multiple-use Vial

See the detailed “Instructions for Use” with this Medication Guide for instructions about the right way to store, prepare and give your Enbrel injections at home.

- Your doctor will tell you how often you should use Enbrel. Do not miss any doses of Enbrel. If you forget to use Enbrel, inject your dose as soon as you remember. Then, take your next dose at your regularly scheduled time. In case you are not sure when to inject Enbrel, call your doctor or pharmacist. Do not use Enbrel more often than as directed by your doctor.
- Your child's dose of Enbrel depends on his or her weight. Your child's doctor will tell you which form of Enbrel to use and how much to give your child.

### What are the possible side effects of Enbrel?

See “What is the most important information I should know about Enbrel?”

Enbrel can cause serious side effects, including:

- **Infections.** Enbrel can make you more likely to get infections or make any infection that you have worse. Call your doctor right away if you have any symptoms of an infection. See “Before starting Enbrel, be sure to talk to your doctor” for a list of symptoms of infection.
- **Hepatitis B infection** in people who carry the virus in their blood. If you

are a carrier of the hepatitis B virus (a virus that affects the liver), the virus can become active while you use Enbrel. Your doctor may do a blood test before you start treatment with Enbrel and while you use Enbrel.

- **Nervous system problems.** Rarely, people who use TNF-blocker medicines have developed nervous system problems such as multiple sclerosis, seizures or inflammation of the nerves of the eyes. Tell your doctor right away if you get any of these symptoms: numbness or tingling in any part of your body, vision changes, weakness in your arms and legs and dizziness.
- **Blood problems.** Low blood counts may have been seen with other TNF-blocker medicines. Your body may not make enough of the blood cells that help fight infections or help stop bleeding. Symptoms include fever, bruising or bleeding very easily, or looking pale.
- **Heart failure** including new heart failure or worsening of heart failure you already have. New or worse heart failure can happen in people who use TNF-blocker medicines like Enbrel. If you have heart failure your condition should be watched closely while you take Enbrel. Call your doctor right away if you get new or worsening symptoms of heart failure while taking Enbrel, such as shortness of breath or swelling of your lower legs or feet.
- **Psoriasis.** Some people using Enbrel developed new psoriasis or worsening of psoriasis they already had. Tell your doctor if you develop red scaly patches or raised bumps that may be filled with pus. Your doctor may decide to stop your treatment with Enbrel.
- **Allergic reactions.** Allergic reactions can happen to people who use TNF-blocker medicines. Call your doctor right away if you have any symptoms of an allergic reaction. Symptoms of an allergic reaction include a severe rash, a swollen face or trouble breathing.
- **Autoimmune reactions, including:**
  - **Lupus-like syndrome.** Symptoms include a rash on your face and arms that gets worse in the sun. Tell your doctor if you have this symptom. Symptoms may go away when you stop using Enbrel.
  - **Autoimmune hepatitis.** Liver problems can happen in people who use TNF-blocker medicines, including Enbrel. These problems can lead to liver failure and death. Call your doctor right away if you have any of these symptoms: feel very tired, skin or eyes look yellow, poor appetite or vomiting, pain on the right side of your stomach (abdomen).

#### Common side effects of Enbrel include:

- **Injection site reactions** such as redness, swelling, itching or pain. These symptoms usually go away within 3 to 5 days. If you have pain, redness or swelling around the injection site that doesn't go away or gets worse, call your doctor.
- **Upper respiratory infections** (sinus infections).
- **Headache.**

These are not all the side effects with Enbrel. Tell your doctor about any side effect that bothers you or does not go away.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

#### How should I store Enbrel?

- Store Enbrel in the refrigerator at 36° to 48°F (2° to 8°C).
- Do not freeze.
- Do not shake.
- Keep Enbrel in the original carton to protect from light.
- Keep Enbrel and all medicines out of the reach of children.

#### General Information about Enbrel

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes not mentioned in a Medication Guide. Do not use Enbrel for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give Enbrel to other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them.

This Medication Guide summarizes the most important information about Enbrel. If you want to know more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about Enbrel that was written for healthcare professionals. For more information, call 1-888-4ENBREL (1-888-435-2735).

#### What are the ingredients in Enbrel?

Single-use Prefilled Syringe and the Single-use Prefilled SureClick Autoinjector:

**Active ingredient:** etanercept

**Inactive ingredients:** sucrose, sodium chloride, L-arginine hydrochloride and sodium phosphate

**Multiple-use Vial:**

**Active ingredient:** etanercept

**Inactive ingredients:** mannitol, sucrose, trometamine

v7

Issue Date: 12/2011

This Medication Guide has been approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration

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**The good workout** Saddleback member Juli Cuccia attends weekly sessions



**Praise the sweat** Trainer Tony Lattimore leads free boot-camp classes

but he very much wants you to be healthy.

All of this works well on the Saddleback campus, but Warren has dreams of taking the plan wide—to a billion people around the world in the next decade, says Hyman. That means either recruiting and converting a great many new members or finding what's scalable and nondenominational in the program and getting it out to a global population that's getting fatter, slower and sicker all the time.

#### Bodies on Loan

IT WAS JUST 16 MONTHS AGO THAT CHLOE Chiquita Seals decided to change her life—and it badly needed changing. At 270 lb., she spent most of her time in her house, too self-conscious to leave. "I was a hermit," she says. "I was afraid to go out, to walk down the street." Seals didn't have much, but she did have a friend—Etienne Stephen, a Saddleback member she had known since college. He encouraged her to attend the Daniel Plan kickoff rally, and she

signed up for the program straightaway.

More important than simply introducing Seals to the program, Stephen has also guided her through it. Daniel Plan participants are encouraged to form small groups with only five or so members, led by what the church calls a champion. Currently, about 5,000 such groups meet regularly, and they are the true core of the program. Stephen takes his role as Seals' champion seriously—helping her

**But Daniel resolved not to defile himself with the royal food and wine ... 'Give us nothing but vegetables to eat and water to drink.'**

—DANIEL 1:8, 12

make food substitutions, teaching her to read supermarket labels, even paying for a gym membership for her.

The plan has worked extraordinarily well for Seals so far: she has lost half her body weight and gone from a size 22 to a size 2. And in the spirit of the pay-it-forward fellowship that the Daniel Plan is designed to foster, she has recruited Carol Hasbun, a friend of four years' standing who has been in the program for about a month. Seals has helped her shop, taught her to make healthy pizza, gone through her kitchen cabinets and, following a Daniel Plan video, cleaned out all the nasty stuff.

"My goal is to lose 80 lb.," Hasbun says, "hopefully in a year or two years." Seals is quick to back her up. "You are going to get there," she says.

By keeping the menu interesting, the Daniel Plan makes such an ambitious goal easier to reach. Cooking classes and recipe tips are offered on the Saddleback campus and online and include dishes like

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NATURE'S FIX



HEALTH SPECIAL THE DANIEL PLAN

agave-glazed-salmon tacos in blue-corn tortillas with poblano-and-avocado lime sauce accompanied by napa-cabbage slaw—weighing in at just 370 calories.

It would be easy if the Daniel Plan called on its members to do nothing more than meet, shop and cook, but it's a decidedly more vigorous regimen than that. On a recent Sunday morning, 60 people had already shown up on the campus for a 9 a.m. boot-camp class, led by Tony Lattimore, a church member and personal trainer. Lattimore's usual rate is \$75 per hour, but his Saddleback classes are free. "We live completely on faith," says his wife Kimberly.

Nearby, a volleyball game is going on at the community center and restaurant known as the Refinery—recalling the biblical passages that refer to God's refining power. The building also has a basketball court and Frisbee golf course, and outdoor lights are in the works so members can play at night. An organic garden has been planted, and the harvest is used in the restaurant and in the food pantry that helps feed the needy. Not all the fare in the restaurant is healthy (Warren believes the program should neither be nor feel mandatory), but each selection does bear a green, yellow or red star indicating the degree of caution church members should exercise before choosing it.

Even doctors who don't agree with the religious element of the plan would find it hard to dispute that the overall regimen is well designed—and that this kind of program is badly needed everywhere. "By the end of this decade, there will be 50 million people per year dying worldwide from chronic, lifestyle-related diseases, compared with 20 million dying from infectious diseases," says Hyman. "These are things we could be preventing."

## Taking It Wide

IF CHURCHES CAN BE A SOLUTION TO THE obesity problem, they also, in some ways, helped create it. Amen was a devoutly practicing Christian long before he became involved with the Daniel Plan. He recalls a day in 2010 when he entered the church he regularly attended and found doughnuts for sale and hot dogs and sausages cooking outside while the minister talked about the ice cream festival held the night before. Amen began scrawling notes to himself: "They have no idea they are sending people to heaven early. This has got to change."

He began praying for guidance, and just two weeks later, Warren called and asked him to participate in the Daniel Plan. "I'm thinking, No way," Amen says. "God does not usually answer my prayer that fast and in a big way."

Warren's idea of keeping the church in the game but using it to fix rather than create problems appealed to Amen, in part because it's applicable to all faiths. There's nothing that says a mosque can't have exercise classes and cooking demonstrations; there's nothing that says a synagogue can't have a website and small-group support. Other churches are already clamoring for the Daniel Plan, and a friend of Warren's who is a rabbi wants to offer the plan in his synagogue.

Tapping the church as an existing root system for health can be used in an even bigger way in the developing world, something that's central to a newly launched mission Warren calls the PEACE Plan, an acronym for planting churches around

## The plan taps the church as an existing support system for health care—an approach with enormous potential in the developing world

the world, equipping leaders, assisting the poor, caring for the sick and educating the next generation. The beta test for the PEACE Plan occurred in 2008, when Paul Kagame, President of Rwanda, moved by the message of *The Purpose Driven Life*, contacted Warren and told him he wanted to create a purpose-driven country.

Saddleback volunteers traveled to Rwanda and saw that while there were just three large hospitals in the entire country, there were 3,000 churches, most of which could do double duty as clinics and care stations. Today 4,000 church-affiliated volunteers have been mobilized in Rwanda, providing screening for HIV/AIDS and hypertension and initiating feeding, clean-water, education and adoption programs. Saddleback is focusing on a dozen other cities around the world—including Amman, Johannesburg, Moscow, Tokyo and Mexico City—for the access they provide to





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# IS YOUR NEST EGG AS GLOBAL AS IT SHOULD BE?



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**Veggie tales**  
Daniel Plan director  
Dee Eastman  
at Saddleback's  
organic farm

local disadvantaged populations. The Daniel Plan might actually have a role in the PEACE Plan too, since even in desperately poor places, cheap, processed Western-style fare has wreaked havoc on health. "Eighty percent of all diabetics are in the developing world," says Amen. "The commercial used to say, 'I'd like to buy the world a Coke.' Well, I guess we did."

### Is It for Everyone?

THERE'S NO GUARANTEE THAT THE DANIEL Plan, innovative as it is, will move the health needle over the long term. Diet plans have an extraordinary failure rate for a great many reasons. A daunting mix of habit, genetics and even addictive behavior drive obesity, as does simple metabolism: the earlier in life you become fat, the more you change the way you process food.

And yet there's no denying the hand-in-glove way that faith and health mix. People who attend services have a lower risk of dying in any one year than people who don't. Studies have shown that belief in a loving God as opposed to a punishing God is linked to faster recovery postsurgery.

People with HIV/AIDS tend to do better when they belong to a religious community. One study even found that church members who give service have better health profiles than those who receive service—confirming that it truly does pay to care for others. The precise mechanism behind these findings—divinity, biology or both—matters less than the fact that the benefits are real.

But the plan could face other obstacles. One of the things that make an evangelical health program so easy to take in nonevangelical communities is Warren's singular style. There's a hint of good-natured mischief to him, which nicely leavens the messages he delivers about such profound issues as life, death and afterlife. He takes an almost teenlike pleasure in talking about his Twitter feed and then adds, "You know, if you don't follow me on Twitter, you'll go to hell."

The line gets the intended laugh, but the fact is, hell does remain part of his teachings. "You have friends who don't know Jesus," he has told his followers. "You know people who are headed to hell."

That may be a common evangelical belief, but it fits uneasily with the no-judgments ethos of the Daniel Plan.

The plan's website also makes clear that for all the multicultural character of the program, there is a line that will not be crossed. The Frequently Asked Questions section of the site explains that while doctors of other faiths are part of the plan, they "are helping us as friends," and the church will never compromise its belief that "Jesus is the only way to Heaven or that the Bible is the 100% completely infallible and perfect Word of God."

And while the idea that your body is on loan can be a nice motivator if you want to lose weight, it can be just as powerful a tool to regulate—and proscribe—sexual behavior. "You don't have the right to just share your body with anyone!" says one piece of Daniel Plan material that addresses sexuality. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Warren has earned the wrath of the gay community for his opposition to same-sex marriage, though he has not belated the issue.

All the same, it would be more than a little disingenuous for outsiders to profess themselves shocked, shocked that an evangelical church believes in heaven, hell and a literal interpretation of the Bible and has a rule or two about human sexuality. You can hardly walk into a vegan restaurant and then get mad when you can't order a burger.

More important, unlike evangelical teachings as a whole, the Daniel Plan can easily be taken cafeteria-style. Embrace what it has to say about the power of community and the responsibility of caring for the only body you'll ever have, fold in some of your own religion if you choose, and leave the rest. Hyman, who likes to laugh about how a Jewish doctor from New York wound up partnering with Warren, thinks about this a lot. "Community-based models work," he says. "I go on *The 700 Club*, and people ask me why I appear with Pat Robertson. But we all get sick, regardless of religion. We have bodies, we care about our children and about creating a healthier world."

That's not a bad goal—and harnessing the power, commitment and organizational skills of the faith-based community is not a bad way to get there. It's not the only way, but no one—not even Warren—says it has to be. You may or may not believe in heaven, but good health, long life and the fellowship of a community do feel like a little slice of it. ■



Ⓐ day 1 In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. And God said, Let there be light; and there was light.

# the creation

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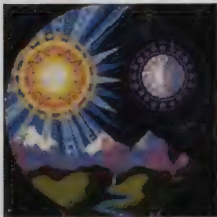
Ⓐ day 2 And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. And God called the firmament Heaven.



Ⓐ day 3 And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was so. And God called the dry land Earth; and the gathering together of the waters called he Seas.



Ⓐ day 5 And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven.



Ⓐ day 4 And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years; And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth.

Ⓐ day 6 And God made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind; and God saw that it was good.





**Looking East With**  
U.S. coal use down,  
Asia offers hope for  
the mining industry

# King Coal's Comeback

## Asia needs coal, and the U.S. has plenty. Will expanding exports make climate change that much worse?

BY BRYAN WALSH

**T**HE POWDER RIVER BASIN IN SOUTHEASTERN Montana and northeastern Wyoming can be as beautiful as its name suggests, but that's not why mining companies call it home. The region has one of the richest deposits of coal in the world, enough to yield more than 400 million tons last year—nearly half the coal mined in the U.S. There's enough coal in the Powder River Basin to keep American lights burning for decades, except for one thing—the U.S. is using less and less of the stuff. Thanks to bargain-basement natural gas prices and tougher air-pollution regulations, coal-fired power plants are closing down, and the Energy Information Administration expects coal consumption in the electric-utility sector to drop by 14% this year. That's good news for the

environment—coal is a major pollutant and contributor to climate change—and bad news for companies that mine coal.

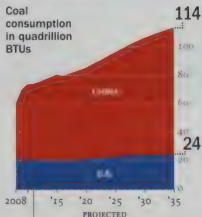
But across the Pacific Ocean, the demand for coal has never been hotter, with China burning 4.1 billion tons in 2010 alone, far more than any other country in the world. That insatiable demand forced China in 2009 to become a net coal importer for the first time, in part because congested rail infrastructure raised the cost of transporting coal from the mines of the country's northwest to its booming southern cities. In April, Chinese coal imports nearly doubled from a year earlier. Right now Australia and Indonesia supply much of China's foreign coal. U.S. coal from the Powder River Basin could be a perfect addition to the Chinese market. Montana and Wyoming are just short train trips to ports on the Pacific Northwest coast, and from there it's a container ship away from Asian megacities where coal doesn't have to compete with cheap natural gas and air-pollution regulations are far weaker than in the U.S. To a wounded Big Coal, China is a potential savior. "We feel U.S. coal is an outstanding product to export to the Asian market as they continue to increase their coal demand," says Vic Svec, a senior vice president at St. Louis-based Peabody Energy, the world's biggest private coal company.

### (Not) A Burning Issue

THERE'S JUST ONE HITCH: RIGHT NOW, ports on the West Coast lack the infrastructure needed to transfer coal from railcars into container ships. (Just 7 million of the 107 million tons of U.S.-exported coal left the country via Pacific Ocean ports last year.) That's why coal companies like Peabody and Ambre Energy are ready to spend millions to build coal-export facilities at a handful of ports in Washington and Oregon. If all those plans go forward, as much as 150 million tons of coal could be exported from the Northwest annually—nearly all of it coming from the Powder River Basin and headed to Asia. Even if the U.S. kept burning less and less coal at home, it would have a reason to keep mining it.

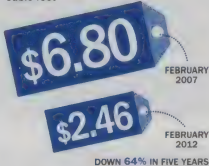
To environmentalists, though—and to many residents of port towns—those plans sound like the outline of a nightmare. There are the local costs of shipping millions of tons of coal via uncovered railcars: the traffic congestion and the air pollution from spilling coal dust and diesel tractor trailers. Valuable waterfront land would be set aside for transporting coal to China, even as the Northwest weans itself off coal power altogether. (The last

### Coal consumption is lagging in the U.S.

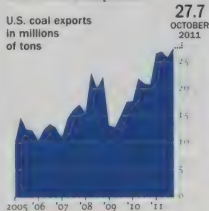


### In part because natural gas is so cheap

U.S. natural gas wellhead price per thousand cubic feet



### Making exports vital for U.S. coal companies



Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration

coal-fired power plant in Oregon will shut down early in 2020.) Residents of small towns like Cheney, Wash.—which sits near heavily trafficked railways—would endure most of the disruption caused by the increased rail traffic without reaping much of the economic benefit. "What's happening to us here is that we're bearing really unacceptable costs," says Cheney Mayor Tom Trulove.

The local environmental and livability concerns are serious enough that the governor of Oregon called in April for the federal government to take a closer look at the proposed port projects under the National Environmental Policy Act. That won't do much to hold back Big Coal. The Army Corps of Engineers would need to approve at least four of the projects, but there's no single lever the White House can use to stop the port construction—which means the decisions will mostly fall to local officials over the next few years. For their part, the coal and rail companies pushing the projects are hyping the economic benefits of new construction and shipping while promising to take steps to reduce any local environmental impact from coal transportation. The Morrow Pacific project in Oregon, developed by Ambre, would offload coal from trains in an enclosed area to minimize dust, then ship it down the Columbia River in enclosed barges to the port of St. Helens. In addition, Ambre would donate hundreds of thousands of dollars a year to public schools in the area. "There's a tremendous economic benefit here for Oregon," says Liz Fuller, a spokeswoman for Morrow Pacific.

### A Global Coal Conundrum

NIMBY FEELINGS ALONE WILL MAKE ANY of these projects a difficult sell, especially in the ultra-green Pacific Northwest.

But the larger environmental question isn't about the local impacts but rather the global ones. Environmentalists worry that by making it easy for the U.S. to ship cheap coal to Asia, the port projects would keep American mines humming even as coal use dwindles domestically. They might also encourage China and other rapidly growing Asian countries to burn more coal than they otherwise would by lowering the global price of the product. (One recent study found that a 10% reduction in the cost of coal in China would lead to a 12% increase in consumption.) By exporting coal to Asia, the U.S. would be responsible for further increasing global carbon emissions. "Will China and India have unlimited access to some of the cheapest and most plentiful coal on the planet?" says





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K.C. Golden, policy director for the Seattle-based NGO Climate Solutions. "That's the most important question."

How to act on the answer is another issue. The fact is, no one knows if increased U.S. exports would actually add to the total amount of coal burned globally. Coal companies like Peabody—as well as some economic analysts—say cheap U.S. coal would simply displace more expensive domestic Chinese coal or imports from Australia and Indonesia. If overall coal consumption won't actually increase, why

not let U.S. companies—and taxpayers—get the economic benefit of those exports? If the U.S. decides not to build the port facilities, China's hunger for coal will just be met by another dealer.

Some argue that if increasing demand in Asia pushes up global coal prices, it could actually help the environment by forcing more coal-burning countries to start looking for cheaper energy alternatives. In the U.S., higher coal prices could accelerate the switch from coal to natural gas, especially in parts of the Midwest that remain heavily dependent on coal. But that will depend on how Asian markets respond to the potential avalanche of U.S. coal. Chinese demand for coal has been inelastic in recent years, meaning that prices—high or low—haven't had much impact on how much coal China burns. That's partly because the Chinese government exerts control over the energy market, says Richard Morse, director of coal- and carbon-market research at Stanford University, making the effect on emissions of cheaper coal from the U.S. "a complex question. And it's not

**Burn, baby, burn** China's demand for coal is likely to keep rising—with potentially disastrous results for the environment

just about China," he says. "You have to net out the global impacts against the U.S. impacts."

Of course, that kind of modeling is easier said than done, which is why no one's done it. What's clear is that the global rate of consumption of coal—the dirtiest fossil fuel there is—will help decide how fast the planet warms. For their part, environmentalists remain convinced that stopping coal exports to Asia is a must-win battle in the war on climate change. In a fiery speech at a Portland, Ore., protest against the proposed ports last month, environmental activist Robert Kennedy Jr. urged the crowd to fight back. "[Coal companies] are coming to ship their poison, so they can poison the people in China, and that poison is going to come back here," he said. "So don't let them." It's a fight for the people of the Pacific Northwest, but the results will matter to the entire world. ■

**'Will China and India have unlimited access to the cheapest and most plentiful coal on the planet? That's the important question.'**

—K.C. GOLDEN, POLICY DIRECTOR, CLIMATE SOLUTIONS

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# The Culture

**56 POP CHART** Slash speaks / **58 MOVIES** Ridley Scott's space shot / **61 BOOKS** A postmodern whodunit / **62 SPORTS** Big game / **63 MUSIC** The new sound of hip-hop / **64 THEATRE** Obama, re-considered



# Pop Chart



BOUNTY-HUNTER EDITION



## GOOD WEEK/ BAD WEEK

**T.I.**  
Will break from rapping to chase fugitives in the new film *Identity Theft*.

**Dog**  
Will bounty-hunt no more—at least not on A&E, which canceled his show after eight seasons.



## X-MEN A Super Proposal

Northstar, a superhero in the *Astonishing X-Men* series, has been out and proud since 1992. And now that same-sex marriage is legal in New York, Marvel is letting him put a ring on longtime boyfriend Kyle—a comic-book first. Your move, Avengers.

## NOT-SO-REAL ESTATE

# \$18,000

Estimated price of Harley's Malibu Dream House that existed in real life, as calculated by real estate firm Maxima. It's only a prop, but Malibu Beach is pricey territory.



**PASSION PROJECT** Stefan Ruiz has spent years photographing Televisa Studios, where many Mexican telenovelas, or soap operas, are filmed. (Telenovelas air in over 50 countries worldwide.) His book, *The Factory of Dreams*, offers an intimate glimpse of that world—as in this image of actor Daniel Cortés, taken in 2004.

## FOOT PAS Uggs for the Altar

For brides who want a smooth transition from the aisle to the tundra, Ugg is introducing a line of I Do sheepskin wedding boots—blinged out with sequins or Swarovski crystals, naturally. Memo to Ed Hardy: now's the perfect time to launch that custom tux.



## QUICK TALK

### Slash

"I'm not a big talking person," says Slash. So we'll consider ourselves lucky that the legendary guitarist with Guns N' Roses, Velvet Revolver and now Myles Kennedy and the Conspirators—whose new album *Apocalyptic Love* is out now—chatted us up about emoticons, rock-star life and, of course, that signature hat. —TIM MORRISON

It's been almost 25 years since you started touring with Guns N' Roses. What's changed? Last night, I was watching a video someone took of GN'R performing back in 1987, and it was the first time I'd seen any video from back then. I'm basically doing the exact same thing onstage now [except] I'm not excessively drinking and doing all that stuff that I was doing at that particular point in time. You've got your own emoticon on Twitter, iiiii; ). Did you come up with it? Yeah. I was sitting around with my BlackBerry. It just came to me. Looking at photos from your early days, people have joked that you're basically just a hat and sunglasses. Tell me about the hat. I saw it in a store window [in the mid-1980s] and thought, Well, that's cool. I wore it that night, and over time it just became one of my most identifiable features. Ever lose one? I had one stolen, and I got it back because the guy was dumb enough to try to sell it on eBay, and I had another stolen in a bar that I passed out in. I never did get that one back.





**RAINBOW ROOM** At the Grand Palais's fifth annual Monumenta installation, Daniel Buren's *Excentrique(s)*, Parisians and tourists can walk beneath a bubble-like ceiling that shines down multicolored beams of sunlight. After dark, spotlights keep the show going.

## UPS AND DOWNS The Real World

Hot tubs. Threesomes. Thought-provoking culture clashes. They're all par for the course on MTV's signature reality series, which premiered 20 years ago. Here, a look at the best—and worst—of its seven strangers' stories.

### GRATUITOUS



**SEASON 10**  
Openly gay, HIV-positive Pedro shares his struggles with AIDS



**SEASON 24**  
**NEW ORLEANS**  
As a prank, Preston unnares on Ryan's toothbrush, then uses it to scrub the toilet



**SEASON 12**  
**LAS VEGAS**  
Steven, Trishelle and Brynn have a threesome in a hot tub—a first for reality TV



**SEASON 7** **SEATTLE**  
An angry Stephen snaps Irene as she's moving out



**SEASON 4** **LONDON**  
During a set, blind front man Neil kisses a heckler—who promptly bites his tongue

**SEASON 25**  
Iraq-war vet Ryan grapples with PTSD



**SEASON 10**  
Ruthie's alcoholism gets so bad, producers have to step in

## 3 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THIS WEEK

### 1. Frenemies in the White House.

George W. Bush returned to 1800 Pennsylvania for his official portrait unveiling and then dined with the Obamas. Awkward?

### 2. Lady Gaga's knack for controversy.

The pop sensation was forced to back out of a tour stop in Jakarta after Muslim protesters threatened to burn the stage. She later tweeted, "There is nothing Holy about hatred."

### 3. The relevance of Will Smith.

Men in Black III, his first film in four years, netted \$202 million worldwide during its first weekend.

# Into the Void

## Prometheus dives into a dangerous genre—the space opera

By Lev Grossman

AS HIGH-CONCEPT HIGH-WIRE ACTS GO, THERE aren't many genres as risky as space opera. Starting with that name, which almost nobody likes. I'm using it here, for lack of a better one, to refer to that particular strain of science fiction that involves large-scale, far-future action, staged with massive spaceships powered by space-smearing faster-than-light drives, in which good-looking humans traverse the void in order to meet alien species and exchange laser fire with them, *pew pew pew*.

I don't use the term pejoratively at all. When it succeeds, space opera is magnificent. The great ones—*Star Wars*, *Star Trek*, *Firefly*, the *Mass Effect* games, Iain Banks' *Culture* novels—convey an almost existential sense of the scale and indifference and weird beauty of the universe. They stun you with humanity's astounding courage and towering idiocy in daring to stray from our cozy blue-green marble, jump the gulf between stars Evel Knievel-style and confront the profound otherness of alien life. It's a feeling very close to what the 18th-century philosopher Edmund Burke named the sublime: the overwhelming emotion produced by a glimpse of the infinite perfection of the divine, "a sort of delightful horror, a sort of tranquility tinged with terror."

But the term *space opera* was originally meant as an insult. It was coined in 1941 by Arthur Wilson "Bob" Tucker, a novelist and influential science-fiction fan who wrote in his fanzine *Le Zombie*, "Westerns are called 'horse operas,' the morning house wife tear-jerkers are called 'soap operas.' For the hacky, grinding, outworn space-ship yarn, or world-saving for that matter, we offer 'space opera.'"

Obviously the offer wasn't made with a lot of affection. At the time, space opera was considered hopelessly cliché, aesthetically and thematically bankrupted by Buck Rogers and Flash Gordon and their legions of knockoffs.

It didn't die. It proved irresistible to a whole

chain of visionaries who serially reinvented it: Isaac Asimov, Robert Heinlein, Gene Roddenberry, Stanley Kubrick, George Lucas. But it never lost that element of risk either. Anything that takes itself that seriously is always just a whisker away from camp. When you aim for the sublime and miss, you miss big, and even *Star Wars*, in the end, couldn't hit it reliably. If you get it just right, you get *Star Trek*. If you're off by even a hair, you get *Barbarella*.

There aren't many living masters of space opera, especially in film, which is why it's always interesting when one of them takes a whack at it. Ridley Scott made *Alien*, a landmark of the genre, in 1979, but it's been more than 30 years since he last left Earth's gravity well. Now he's returning to the dangerous, unforgiving vacuum of space with *Prometheus*, which opens on June 8—and to a dangerous, unforgiving genre.

*Star Wars*, released in 1977, introduced audiences to the idea that spaceships could be old: the *Enterprise* usually looks like it just came out of the bubble wrap, but the *Millennium Falcon* is worn and blast-scarred. It has texture. You can see that it has a history, even before you find out that Han Solo won it from Lando Calrissian in a card game. When *Alien* came out two years later, it took texture a step further. The *Nostromo* is a lumbering 18-wheeler crewed by a gang of cynical working stiffs who are just there to earn a paycheck. The Force isn't with them or anybody else. Scott scraped their universe clean of any particle of glamour or romance. "*Alien* was classified as a horror film," Scott says, reached while scouting locations in Spain, "but I always felt it was more than that. With such great characters and the rare and wonderful eighth passenger"—by which he means the horrific extraterrestrial of the title—"it all became just too stressful. Or do we call that horror?" Or the sublime? What it was, most of all, was real.

*Prometheus* is set earlier than *Alien*, almost 80 years into our future, but the two films



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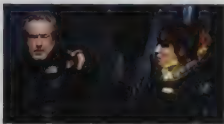
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are connected by a slender thread of continuity. The sinister megacorporation in *Prometheus*, Weyland Industries, will presumably undergo a merger to form Weyland Yutani, the sinister megacorporation in *Alien*. (We're also promised the backstory of a mysterious nonhuman corpse in *Alien* known to fans as the Space Jockey.) But the eponymous spaceship in *Prometheus* is a far sweeter ride than the *Nostromo*: it's a sleek, snouty beast that lopes through the void on four ion plasma thrusters like heavy paws. "This time around, the mission is completely and totally populated by nerds," says Damon Lindelof, a co-creator of *Lost*, who produced and co-wrote *Prometheus*. "Nerds like nicer facilities."

The nerds in question are archaeologists (principally Noomi Rapace and Logan Marshall-Green) who have made a discovery that could provide answers to the basic questions of human civilization, at least as framed by movie archaeologists: Who are we, and where do we come from? "Now they have a specific set of coordinates in space to go and get the answers," Lindelof says. "It's a piece of classic science fiction grounded in that 1950s sci-fi sensibility of 'there's a line that we should not cross technologically or philosophically.' You can cross it if you choose, but you'll be sorry that you did."

As in all space opera, the challenge in *Prometheus* is building a future world that

feels reliably solid—not cartoonish or clichéd—but still furnishes its characters with the means to violate the laws of physics when necessary. That's one reason Scott bided his time before coming back to the genre. "I couldn't find an appropriate yarn that had enough credibility to get my attention," he says. "At the end of the day, one has to cook these genres with a little or a lot of help to create a sense of reality out of the fantasy."

One of Scott's gifts is making the miraculous—cryosleep, faster-than-light drives, androids (the one in *Prometheus* is played by the already otherworldly Michael Fassbender)—seem not just real but ordinary. The characters who use it are blasé; they're used to it—which frees us to be thrilled by it. "Ridley is a designer," Lindelof explains. "The first rule is, Would this spaceship fly? How fast would it move? How is it powered? All the way down to the android in the story. We would be having conversations about the programming: Why is he saying this line here?" Though ultimately, success or

**Scott's space operas create a sense that we're always at the mercy of an indifferent universe**

#### Alien territory

By Dave Karger  
Illustration by [illegible]

failure rests on that buggy, unreliable piece of software, the human soul. "The bottom line is, if the actors are not successfully portraying human reactions—fear, emotion, terror—it doesn't matter how good the beast is," Scott says. "The plausibility will come from the human performances."

That sense of the real is reinforced by Scott's decision to shoot primarily on real sets and in exotic locations like Iceland instead of in the weightless, digitally generated environments of a movie like *Avatar*. The physicality is important: while more lenient directors allow their characters to feel a certain hubris, to bounce from star to star and explore alien worlds with impunity, Scott's space operas create a sense that we're always at the mercy of an indifferent physical universe that has no stake or interest in our survival. Small mistakes will be punished. Over and over he shows us the human frame dwarfed by the scale of massive technological constructs, which are in turn trumped by the brute enormity of space. People throw up defenses—hulls, space suits, skin—only to see the horrors outside penetrate them with no apparent effort. It's just what horrors do.

It may be risky to direct a space opera, but it's a lot safer than being a character in one, especially one of Scott's. Because as scary as the aliens are, they're only reflections of ourselves, the alien that lurks, sometimes literally, inside us. "The *Star Trek* universe is entirely built around optimism," says Lindelof, who also produced J.J. Abrams' 2009 *Star Trek* reboot. "It's shiny and clean and pretty, and it's all primary colors. This universe," he goes on, meaning the universe of *Prometheus*, "is all shades of gray, both morally and also visually. It's much truer to what we know about ourselves, looking back on the course of human history." *Prometheus* confronts the existential emptiness of space, but it also probes another kind of void, the one inside us—inner space, which is just as black and empty and cold as the outer kind. ■



# Books

## My So-Called Wife. A crackling thriller about marriage in a house of mirrors

By Lev Grossman

THIS IS SUPPOSED TO BE A REVIEW OF Gillian Flynn's *Gone Girl*, but the truth is, I don't have the foggiest idea how to review this book. It's not what it appears to be, but to be too specific about what it really is would spoil the fun. What to do?

I'll start by reviewing the book it seems to be, at least at first, which is a mystery. Our hero is Nick Dunne, a writer who lost his job in New York City when the magazine he worked for went under. He retreated to North Carthage, the small town in Missouri where he grew up, dragging his wife Amy—also a magazine writer, also recently unemployed—with him. Nick is a smart, good-looking guy, with a touch of the golden boy about him, but when he moves to Missouri he begins gradually lowering his expectations. He buys a bar with his twin sister Morgan. He gets a job

teaching writing at the local junior college. He allows his professional prospects to quietly and gracefully deflate.

Amy doesn't. Amy is a type-A personality, a Harvard grad with definite ideas about Nick's career and her own. "My wife had a brilliant, popping brain, a greedy curiosity," Nick tells us. "Her obsessions tend to be fueled by competition. She needed to dazzle men and jealousify women." (Flynn—and by extension her characters—has a weakness for the quirky neologism.) Amy doesn't fit in in North Carthage, and with no job and no social life to speak of, she's left alone at home to spin her wheels. They spin fast.

Until all of a sudden she's not at home anymore. On their fifth wedding anniversary, Nick gets a call at the bar from a neighbor: his front door is standing open

in the middle of the afternoon. Flynn sketches the crime scene inside: "The carpet glistened with shards of glass, the coffee table shattered. End tables were on their sides, books slid across the floor like a card trick. Even the heavy antique ottoman was belly-up, its four tiny feet in the air like something dead." The police show up. And Nick begins to lie.

Not that Nick killed his wife. He's just a compulsive liar, one of those people whose deepest instinct isn't to tell the truth; it's to tell people what he thinks they want to hear, except that he usually guesses wrong. "You'd literally lie, cheat and steal—hell, kill—to convince people you are a good guy," Nick's twin tells him. When the police start unraveling his inventions, he starts to look like a bad guy. He looks worse when Amy's diary surfaces, detailing the deterioration of their marriage and Nick's increasingly erratic behavior.

But that doesn't quite square with what we've seen of Nick. One of these narrators has to be unreliable. Maybe both are. It becomes apparent in a series of stunning reveals and whiplash reversals that these characters, like the book they're in, aren't what we thought they were. *Gone Girl* is a story about men and women who live double lives not because they're secret agents or jewel thieves but because as human beings they're incapable of being who they appear to be. Their whole personalities are crime scenes where evidence of their true selves has been hastily concealed—except that nothing stays hidden forever. "Can you imagine," Amy asks, "finally showing your true self to your spouse, your soul mate, and having him not like you?"

*Gone Girl* is a hall of mirrors where everything is an empty reflection, including the people who live there. That makes it sound like a postmodern exercise in the deconstruction of subjectivity or something like that, which it isn't. Its content may be postmodern, but it takes the form of a thoroughbred thriller about the nature of identity and the terrible secrets that can survive and thrive in even the most intimate relationships. *Gone Girl* begins as a whodunit, but by the end it will have you wondering whether there's any such thing as a who at all.



**Marriage plot**  
This is Flynn's third novel, but she didn't always write fiction. She spent 10 years at Entertainment Weekly (also published by Time Inc.) as its TV critic.

# Sports

## Strong-Armed. Olympian Sarah Robles raises the bar for plus-size women

By Sean Gregory

SARAH ROBLES CAN HOIST 321 LB. OVER her head. She is on her way to the London Olympics as the top-ranked female weight lifter in the U.S. She is one of the world's strongest women. Yet there are times when Robles, 23, imagines what people are thinking when they pass her on the street, and it has nothing to do with her power, her flexibility, her tenacity. This is what she hears them thinking instead: You're fat. You're lazy. You're gluttonous. You're excessive.

That's why Robles, who is 5 ft. 10 in. and weighs 275 lb., is chasing much more than a medal in London. She's on a mission to change how people perceive larger women—and how larger women and girls perceive themselves. "Embracing your body," says Robles, "will lift you to new heights."

We think we know what an Olympian looks like. An Olympian is a ripped and sinewy runner, or she's a swimmer with a six pack, or she's a tiny, turbo-charged gymnast. Robles and her fellow weight lifters, as well as other elite power athletes like shot putters and discus throwers, don't often fit that mold. "Just because I'm bigger than you doesn't mean I'm not healthy," she says. "My blood work is fine. You know, I've seen a lot of people that look better than me, but you see them in the gym, and you're like"—she makes a dismissive *psstssss*—"Is this your first time here?"

Robles wants heavy girls to see a big woman excelling in athletics. She wants them to know about sports in which their size is a definite advantage, such as weight lifting and track-and-field throwing events. Americans are accustomed to bulky guys' earning fat NFL paychecks; high school coaches can put their biggest boys on the offensive line. But football isn't an option for young women. (A rare exception is Robles' fellow U.S. Olympic lifter Holley Mangold, who played high school football in Ohio and is the younger sister of the New York Jets' Nick Mangold.)

Growing up in California's Inland

Empire, Robles was always the biggest kid in class. She was bullied; other kids hit her, teased her, asked her when the baby was due. Worse, some family members hurt her self-confidence too. She remembers her grandfather glancing at two obese diners at a restaurant. "Look at those two heifers eating," he said. She was crushed. "I'm like, 'I'm a big person too. What does my own grandfather think about me?'"

In junior high, a gym teacher spotted her agility and asked her to join the track team to throw the discus, launching her athletic career. Robles won a track-and-field scholarship to the University of Alabama before switching schools and sports; she wound up lifting at Northern Michigan University. These days, she's so focused that ahead of the U.S. Olympic trials, she unfriended her teammates on Facebook. But she still feels the self-consciousness that was ingrained in her during her early years. She hates shopping for clothes. When we met in New York City, she was wearing an extra-large men's button-down shirt and was not pleased about it. "Sometimes I'm like, 'Ugh, I can't get good clothes to fit. This sucks. I'm so fat.' I have to think, 'O.K., Sarah, remember what you're trying to preach to other people. Remember that about yourself. You are fine. You are pretty. Buy bigger clothes. What's the big deal?'"

She knows her current size poses long-term health risks. "Those are problems I'm not impermeable to," she says. According to Michael Stone, an exercise and sport science professor at East Tennessee State University and a former head of sport physiology for the U.S. Olympic Committee, no evidence suggests that heavyweight lifters face greater health risks as long as they remain active and shed pounds when their competitive careers are over. For now, Robles is just loving lifting. "The lifts are so rhythmic, the movements so purposeful," she says. "I like the way it makes my body look and feel. I'm healthy on the inside now." ■



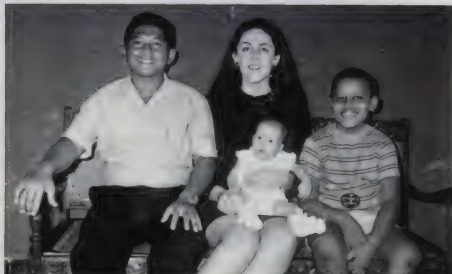
Photograph by Sally Peterson for TIME



**Pure power** Sarah Robles, America's top-ranked female Olympic weight lifter, training in Mesa, AZ.

## Books

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## All in the Details. The latest Obama bio sheds new light on a familiar saga

By Adam Sorensen

WHEN WRITING ABOUT THE LIFE OF Barack Obama, it's hard to say much that's new. Gifted authors, including the man himself, have been telling his story for years. They have considered his search for racial identity (Obama's memoir *Dreams from My Father*), his political career (David Mendell's *From Promise to Power*), his place in the history of black leadership after the civil rights movement (David Remnick's *The Bridge*) and his mother's influence on his worldview (Janny Scott's *A Singular Woman*). Any addition to that canon has to bring an element of novelty. In *Barack Obama: The Story*, Washington Post journalist and Bill Clinton biographer David Maraniss delivers.

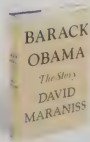
The book begins with the suicide of Obama's maternal great-grandmother in Kansas, then transitions to his paternal grandfather's exile from his native village in Kenya. From those traumas Maraniss traces the origins of Obama's far-flung families; Obama the son does not appear until page 165 in a 574-page book, and even after that, his parents and maternal grandparents remain central characters.

The level of detail can be stifling at times. For example of consequence in the Obama family's history, Maraniss

seems to have spoken with everyone present as well as their neighbors, relatives, colleagues and acquaintances. (Burning with curiosity about the social mores of southeastern Kansas in the early 20th century? He's got you covered.) But the historical context is mostly engrossing, as is the gossip-worthy color: in high school, Obama ran with a joint-puffing "Choom Gang" (derived from Hawaiian slang for marijuana); at Occidental College, he performed a dead-on Mick Jagger impression for his hard-partying dormitory.

The power of Maraniss's reporting becomes apparent in his treatment of the future President's "dark years" in New York City during his early 20s. Through interviews with co-workers and friends, including accounts from two serious

When he was 20, Obama asked a friend, "Do you think I will be President?"



### The Commander in Chief, age 9

Barack Obama with his stepfather Lolo Soetoro, mother Ann Dunham and half sister Maya in Indonesia, 1970

girlfriends, Maraniss captures Obama's search for purpose and the kindling of his ambition with an intimacy unlike that of other biographers—including Obama. (In one striking moment of prescience, Obama's white, upper-class girlfriend writes in her journal that a "lithe, bubbly, strong black lady is waiting" in her lover's future.) The book concludes with the deaths of his parents and his first step toward a political career: departing his community-organizing job in Chicago for Harvard Law School.

Despite its title, *Barack Obama: The Story* does not rely on narrative. If anything, Maraniss embraces the ambiguities in Obama's complicated history, packed with so many characters that you may find yourself backtracking to figure out which Kenyan minister is which. He debunks the notion that Obama Sr. left Ann Dunham to pursue an opportunity at Harvard—the two were barely ever together after their son was born. He uncovers early flashes of Obama's political ambition and reveals his gregarious grandfather's serial exaggerations and financial troubles.

Most shockingly, Maraniss recounts the extent of Obama Sr.'s domestic abuse of his third wife Ruth Baker and raises the possibility that his other spouses experienced similar violence. In Obama family lore, the brilliant and troubled father was a victim of alcoholism brought on by professional setbacks suffered at the hands of political foes, but Maraniss depicts Obama Sr. as the egomaniacal architect of his own destruction. Even Madelyn "Tut" Dunham, Obama's beloved grandmother—whom Maraniss calls "the rock of the family"—struggled with alcoholism. It's a messier, more human retelling of the glowing Obama narrative that became national legend in 2008.

*Barack Obama: The Story* does not present a neat new theory of the man or his place in history. But it offers the rawest account of his early life and a deeper understanding of his origins. Three and a half years and countless publications after Obama's Inauguration, that is a remarkable feat. ■

# Joel Stein



## Date Night, Notarized

A lesson in relationship management from Facebook's royal newlyweds

**M**ARK ZUCKERBERG HAS DONE A lot for our relationships, though those relationships are all with people we barely remember, who did not age nearly as well as we did. The one relationship he has majorly screwed up, however, is our marriages: A recent study in the U.K. showed that more than one-third of all divorce filings contain the word *Facebook*. And that was before people invested in the company's IPO.

But Zuckerberg also helped invent a system to improve monogamous relationships. All the articles about his wedding to his college girlfriend, which took place the day after the IPO, mentioned the "relationship agreement" they drew up years ago after she moved to Palo Alto, Calif., to get back together with him. In it, he agreed to take her on a date once a week and spend 100 minutes of alone time each week with her outside the office or his apartment. It was so romantically inspiring that on *The Big Bang Theory*, Sheldon gave one to Amy, stipulating that hand holding was reserved for congratulations over a Nobel Prize, comforting each other during flu shots and aiding someone falling off a cliff. I needed my own relationship agreement. I needed my hand back.

**Like Zuckerberg's girlfriend Priscilla Chan**, who was taking him back and moving across the country, I was in a power position to dictate the terms of my relationship agreement with my lovely wife Cassandra. We have a kid, and she's afraid that if I were to leave, she might have to raise him alone, thereby doing 10% more work.

Still, I was surprised at how eager Cassandra was to draw up a relationship agreement. Less to my surprise, she started listing her own demands before I'd presented my first clause. She had clearly

been thinking about each of these issues for many years. I know this because she has brought up each of these issues regularly for many years.

Like Chan, Cassandra demanded date night, though a more reasonable once every two weeks. Since I know from selling network television pilots that contracts are specific and thorough—each sitcom I've sold about a journalist has included the percentage I'd get from sales of action figures—I asked if dates with other couples counted. "Just you and me," Cassandra



said, "Suck it up." Then she stipulated that I take one day completely off of work each week—a Sabbath without our computers, cell phones or TV. As if that weren't scary enough, she added, "We'd have to read books." I told her we needed to table that until I talked to my lawyer. My lawyer, by the way, represents TV writers.

I got about halfway through my first request, which required exposing my feelings and the deepest parts of my psyche, when Cassandra rudely interrupted: "I feel extremely objectified," she said, referring to my request to improve our intimacy. "You're saying you're Richard Gere and I'm Julia Roberts."

"At the end of *Pretty Woman*, they love each other very much," I explained.

"I have a feeling all of your contract is going to involve sex," she said.

I scrambled to find nonsex stuff on my list and suggested she refrain from texting her friends while I'm driving, since it makes me feel less like I have a wife and more like I have a teenage daughter who hates me. Cassandra said no texting was a great idea and, to push the concept further, I couldn't answer the phone during dinner, even if it was someone I needed to interview finally calling me back. I was not sure why all her demands had to do with our becoming poorer. I think the relationship contract might completely explain Facebook's poor IPO performance.

### The next morning, needing help with

my negotiations, I called my sister Lisa Stein-Browning, a matrimonial attorney in New Jersey. She thought the relationship contract was a great idea. "The reason people get divorced is that they don't talk," she said. She suggested our contract require us to sit down once a week and each list a minimum of two and a maximum of five things that bothered us or that we wanted to change. Then, without my even bringing up sex—since she is my sister and that would be gross—Lisa suggested that relationship contracts require people to have sex once a week, since husbands often tell her a lack of intimacy was the reason for their failed marriage. "It seems really sad and pathetic to schedule every detail of your life. But I think it would help," she said. I do not see how that is more sad and pathetic than scheduling date night. It is certainly less pathetic than scheduling relationship-agreement-writing night.

When we finally drew up our agreement, Cassandra thought a little bit before signing. "If we had done this before we got married, it would have said different things," she said. "Like 'We have to be completely honest with each other' and 'We will love each other eternally.'" She was right. I was ready to rip up the contract until she said she now thought those ideas were stupid. So we're getting ready to start our biweekly date night. And, though I didn't technically get all the clauses I wanted, I did stipulate that on date night, she has to drink a lot. ■



# 10 Questions

Stiglitz initially studied physics at Amherst College but switched to economics at MIT



## Nobel Prize-winning economist Joseph Stiglitz on inventing the 1% and why they're bad for the economy

**Is America kidding itself when it calls itself the land of opportunity?**

Yes, it is. There are amazing stories of people who made it from the bottom to the top. But what happens on average? What is the chance of somebody from the bottom making it to the middle or somebody from the top who doesn't work going down? In terms of basic statistics, the U.S. has become less a land of opportunity than other advanced industrial countries.

**Is your book *The Price of Inequality*, then, a warning about class warfare?**

I don't like to use that term *class warfare*. The word *warfare* suggests it's a zero sum, with the top getting more at the expense of the bottom. The problem is that by denying opportunities to people at the bottom, we are actually hurting our whole economy, because that means they're not living up to their potential.

**You worked for the Clinton Administration. With income inequality, are you not playing into the electoral cycle?**

No. Maybe. The issue of inequality has been growing persistently in recent decades, but the way we responded to the crisis, with the bottom going down and the top seemingly protected, inevitably brought this issue to the fore. And it should be, because it's a basic question of the direction of our country.

**As I understand your book, you believe in capitalism, but you don't believe in the free market?**

The notion of the free market is a myth. All markets are shaped by laws and regulations, and unfortunately our laws and regulations are shaped in order to create more inequality and less opportunity.

**Do you take credit for coining the expression "the 1%"?**

Yeah, maybe. You can't patent an idea like that, although some people probably would.

**Why do you think no bankers have been prosecuted over the current financial crisis?**

In the years before the crisis, laws were passed that made it possible for people to do within the law a lot of bad things.

Many of the abusive practices with credit cards, predatory lending, were clearly immoral. They went beyond the point of decency, but they didn't go beyond what was legal.

**Are you saying people in the financial sector have no conscience?**

They justify it by a set of defenses—"We made loans available to poor people"—that is absolutely unpersuasive in my mind.

**How do we fix it?**

I think Glass Steagall, modified for the 21st century. We need more transparency. We need more consumer protection. A lot of the turbulence in the financial market is because no one knew who held the Greek debt.

**What do you predict will happen in Europe?**

I think this is as much politics as it is economics. The euro framework as it was designed 10 years ago was fundamentally flawed. It was not designed to respond to a crisis. I'm not very optimistic, but it could be at some critical moment Germany looks at the road ahead and says, Look, our choice is between a breakup of Europe or doing more, and they will make that choice.

**What do Nobel-winning economists do with their Nobel Prize money?**

Well, in the U.S., unlike many other countries, the government takes 50%. So by the time you divide it three ways, then divide it 50%, it's not as big a windfall as you might have thought. But what I did is what economic theory predicts I should have done, which is basically to save it.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE



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